

MOVEMENT 1974

(Labor Challenge, Correspondence & Documents)

League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere/ YS-LJS

(Voir aussi: W8- Affiches et documents LSO-LJS 1970-1973)

'Article on file' at National Archives

1974 – Selection

**1974-Jan- IB Vol2 No. 1 Material from Jan. 1974 Plenum – I Appeal by A.Y.*

1974-Jan- IB Vol2 No. 1 Introduction and Response by Ross Dowson

**1974-Jan- IB Vol.2No.2 Plenum material: Our Tasks in the NDP today (J.S.)*

1974- ("*Vol.2 No. 3*") (*fragment of document*)

1974-01Jan21-lc Ontario Waffle to form 'new socialist party'

1974-01Jan-lc93-2 Feminism and Marxism – Reply to slanders in 'Other Woman'

1974-01Jan-lc93-2 Feminism and Marxism – reply to 'The Other Woman' slanders

1974-01Jan-lc93-3 LSA/LSO meeting plans spring activities

1974-02Feb4-lc94- (*Y-R*) STOP OIL PROFITEERS!

1974-02Feb-lc94-1c (*Y-R*) NDP and the energy crisis

1974-02Feb-lc94-2 Defend Dr. Morgentaler – Build March 9 protest! (new charges)

1974-02Feb-lc94-3 Why socialists join feminist struggles -- 'The Other Woman'

1974-02Feb-lc94-3c Why socialists join feminist struggles ('The Other Woman')

1974-02Feb-lc94-4 (*Y-R*) In Review – 'The NDP – The Marxist View'

1974-02Feb18-lc95- BC-NDP rejects expulsion attempt – socialists

1974-02Feb-lc95-1 Defend two socialist activists expelled by Ontario NDP!

1974-02Feb-lc95-2 (Montreal) Nurse faces abortion charges

1974-02Feb-lc95-4 Socialists have impact in BC campus election

**1974-Feb-lc5 RMG (ultra-lefts) slams abortion rights struggle (on file)*

*1974-3Mar22 *RMG : Solidarity with the Chilean resistance*

*1974-4Apr7 *LSA- Can. Cttee. For Justice to L.A. political prisoners*

1974-03Mar4-lc95 Gov't presses attack on right to abortion – Tribunal

1974-03Mar-lc96-2 Ottawa secretaries march

1974-03Mar-lc96-3 Editorial – International Women's Day

1974-03Mar-lc96-4a Teachers fight cutbacks – March on (NDP) BC legislature

1974-03Mar-lc96-5 Challenges for Alberta NDP convention

1974-03Mar-lc96-6a Canada's secret police – Government hides "national security"

1974-03Mar-lc96-6b Trudeau – 'I don't want to comment – much too delicate.'

1974-03Mar-lc96-7a Spain – Marxists oppose individual terror

*1974-Mar-lc96 *What we can learn from pioneer feminists – (on file)*

1974-03Mar-lc96-8a **(Y-R)** Waffle and the energy crisis – nationalist schema

1974-03Mar18-lc97 Tribunal indicts abortion law, defends victims

1974-03Mar-lc97-1b Government guilty of crimes against women – Abortion tribunal

1974-03Mar-lc97-1 Morgentaler – doctors must aid women

*1974-Mar-lc97 *Abortion law victims tell their stories (on file)*

*1974-Mar-lc97 BC tenants march for rights – Protest (NDP) government

1974-03Mar-lc97-2 NDP brass defy council, push to expel BC socialist

1974-03Mar-lc97-2 Women set up caucus at Alberta NDP convention

*1974-Mar-lc97 *Canada rejects Chile refugees (Photo 4 generals, Pinochet) (file)*

1974-03Mar-lc97 Leon Trotsky – Terrorism, opportunism and Marxism

*1974-Mar-lc97 **(Y-R)** 18 members of LSA (resign – Dowson tendency)

1974-04Apr99 (NA) What it means to say an NDP government bourgeois (A.Y.)

1974-04Apr1-lc98 500 attend BC conference on women

**1974-Apr-lc98 Need labor alternative in Montreal civic election (on file)*

1974-04Apr-lc98-2a (Y-R) Waffle's 'independence fight' – What's in it for workers?

1974-04Apr-lc98-3 Nationalize BC mines! (vs. BC NDP gov't 'excess profits tax')

1974-04Apr15-lc99 Government restricting abortion facilities

1974-04Apr-lc99-2a Evelyn Reed review—Women, Resistance and Revolution

1974-04Apr-lc99-2b Women's liberation and socialist revolution (Robotham)

1974-04Apr-lc99-3 Furor over 'free speech' at U of Toronto

1974-04Apr-lc99-4 (Y-R) p3- Racist attack – Stop BC NDP's expulsion

**1974-98a RMG: the argentine workers must not be crushed! (file-MIA)*

**1974-Apr-lc99 RCMP grills Chile refugees (14,000 apply, 1100 accepted)*

**1974-Apr-lc99 "Disaster in Chile" On parliamentary road to socialism*

(end of Labor Challenge selections)

Sees reality through nationalist lens

Ont. Waffle to form 'new socialist party'

by RAY WARDEN

"The NDP is bankrupt," Mel Watkins declared in his executive report which opened the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada convention in Toronto Dec. 8-9. The Waffle movement, on the other hand, has become "a viable and relevant political force . . . and the only credible grouping on the political left in Canada."

Hours later the convention voted 115 to 13 (with 7 abstentions) for a resolution submitted by the Toronto East Metro Waffle:

"Be it resolved that the overriding goal of the Ontario Waffle is to develop its program and its organization with a view to transforming the Waffle into a political party that struggles for an independent socialist Canada."

Passage of the resolution was never in doubt, with at least five Waffle locals submitting proposals to the convention that the Waffle form a new party. Nevertheless, several delegates expressed hesitation as to the timeliness of such a decision.

Ralph Cook of the Toronto North Metro Waffle for example, agreed with the preamble of the East Metro resolution that "the objective conditions for a mass party for Canadian independence and socialism now exist." But he expressed skepticism at the Waffle's ability to launch a new party immediately, or even within the one-year time limit suggested by some delegates.

Similar reservations were expressed by West Metro Waffler Dave Monie, and by Hamilton delegate Cec Taylor — both of them among the Waffle's few trade union activists. In response to the latter's request for clarification of the East Metro resolution, Waffle leader Jim Laxer explained that the launching of a new party would require another convention. The East Metro resolution, he said, could only establish the Waffle's direction.

Outright opposition to the Waffle's forming a party was centered in the Kitchener-Waterloo delegation. A resolution submitted by the Kitchener-Waterloo local protested the Waffle's tendency to avoid united action with other currents on the



photo by Jeff White

WAFLE DEMONSTRATION in 1971 protested sale of Ryerson Press to U.S. company. Waffle leaders see 'struggle for independence from U.S. domination' as identical with struggle for socialism. Waffle leader Mel Watkins is on left.

left, noting for example the organization's failure to enter into joint actions "demonstrating the united support of the Canadian people for the people of Chile." Kitchener-Waterloo delegates pictured the Waffle's formation of a new party as a deepening of the organization's sectarian drift.

But most of the discussion of the East Metro resolution turned on the merits of electoral activity in building the "movement for independence and socialism." Nearly every speaker identified the formation of a political party with the fielding of candidates in elections.

Several delegates warned that in forming a party the Waffle should not become preoccupied with electoral activity at the expense of participation in trade-union struggles, or "organizing in the community."

But as Hamilton delegate Dick Roman noted towards the end of the discussion, not much progress was achieved in coming to an understanding of the relation of electoral activity to the overall struggle for socialism.

Electoralism he said, could not be usefully discussed only as a quantitative matter — what portion of the Waffle's resources should be devoted to participation in elections.

Also involved was a qualitative question: whether socialism could be achieved by parliamentary means. Ambiguity in the discussion on this point forced him to question whether the Waffle was constructing a Social-Democratic party, or a revolutionary socialist party.

But no one took up Roman's point. "The decision to become a new party," Watkins remarked after the conference had made its decision, "is a way of communicating to ourselves and to the public that Waffle is unambiguously disconnected from the NDP."

OPPOSITION TO THE NDP

Certainly, there was no ambiguity among the delegates in their opposition to the NDP. The party was variously characterized as "the left flank of liberalism," "the left wing of continentalism," "an encumbrance around the necks of the workers of Canada," and in the preamble to the East Metro resolution, as "a buttress of, and not an opponent of, the capitalist state in Canada."

"To believe that the NDP can be transformed into a party for independence and socialism," the East Metro resolution stated, "is to

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misunderstand the struggle which occurred in the NDP and the structure of the NDP."

But having concluded from their experience as a left-wing caucus within the NDP that the party is a formidable obstacle to the struggle for socialism — and that the NDP leadership will stoop to the foulest organizational measures to maintain their control — the Wafflers' understanding of the NDP remains confused.

Such confusion was manifested in the preamble to the East Metro resolution which attempted to explain the bankruptcy of the NDP as product of the party's domination by "American" unions.

Because the struggle for socialism and the struggle for "independence" are completely intertwined, the preamble argues, and because the leaderships of the international trade unions are "lined up with the interests of American imperialism in dependent countries like Canada," the NDP will at best follow behind, but more likely "actually oppose the developing struggle."

NATIONALIST SCHEMA

According to the Waffle ideologues, Canadian workers are subject to "double exploitation — as workers for capitalism and as Canadians in the American empire." The Waffle's schematic blueprint features Canadian workers revolting against the "de-industrialization" of Canada by American imperialism, tearing free of the shackles imposed by the international unions — and thereby "American business unionism" — to build an "independent Canadian trade-union movement" and a party for independence and socialism.

They refuse to recognize Canada as an imperialist power in its own

right, with its own highly sophisticated capitalist class, firmly in control of its own state. The presence of American capital in Canada does not qualitatively alter the exploitation — of Canadian workers — they are exploited as workers but not as Canadians.

They fail to understand that the conservatism of the trade-union leadership is based — not in "American domination" — but the material privileges afforded the entrenched trade-union bureaucracy. Bureaucracy — need it be added? — is by no means a phenomenon confined to the international unions.

It is the same bureaucratic privilege which is at the root of the Social-Democratic character of the NDP — not its domination by American unions. In their "unambiguous disconnection" from the NDP — which they consider to be at the beck and call of agents of U.S. imperialism in the labor movement — the Waffle has not broken from Social Democracy. They continue to adhere to the Social-Democratic view of the state — witness their equation of forming a party with entering the electoral arena. Nationalism, moreover, is one of Social Democracy's principal features, with which the NDP leadership firmly identifies.

Hence, the Waffle fundamentally misconstrues the tasks before socialists. To urge militants in the international trade unions to launch a struggle for "independent Canadian trade unions" is a dangerous diversion from the struggle for rank-and-file control and class struggle policies in the unions. To call on workers to abandon the struggle for class-struggle policies in the "con-

tinentalist" NDP in favor of building a party for independence and socialism is a sectarian diversion. It can only exacerbate the Waffle's isolation from the mass of politicized workers who continue to look to the NDP as an avenue for political action independent of big business.

The Waffle's viewing of reality through nationalist lenses leads it astray at every turn. In proposing an energy policy to meet the present "crisis" the Waffle convention unanimously adopted the correct demand that all energy industries be nationalized without compensation.

But at the same time the convention demanded "the cessation of all exports of oil and natural gas to the United States," adapting to the same nationalist sentiment which the Liberal government appeals to in imposing export controls—not in the interest of working people but on behalf of big business. The energy policy put forward by the nationalist NDP leaders proceeds from similar assumptions. But Canadian workers have no favorites in the imperialist rivalry over energy supplies, and nothing to gain from a blockade on oil and natural gas to the U.S.

Among other policy proposals adopted by the convention were: a \$4 minimum wage; a 30-hour work week; a price-freeze on food, clothing and heating fuel; a rent-control system; free 24-hour child-care services; and equal pay for women.

The convention also agreed to launch a 40-page bimonthly magazine called North Country, and to continue holding public meetings throughout the province to explain how American imperialism is in the process of "de-industrializing" Canada.



photo by Jeff White
Jim Laxer

Reply to slanders in 'Other Woman'

Feminism and Marxism

This is the first of two articles based on a talk given by the author at the Toronto Vanguard Forum Jan. 11.

by LIS ANGUS

An article entitled "Infiltration of the Women's Movement by the LSA / YS" appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1973 issue of *The Other Woman*, a Toronto-based feminist newspaper with cross-Canada circulation.

The article, signed "Ellen," consists of a slanderous attack on the views and activities of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) and its sympathizing youth organization, the Young Socialists, in relation to the women's liberation movement. It charges that women in the LSA and the YS intend to "infiltrate, splinter and destroy" the women's movement, and advocates that they be excluded from its activities.

It distorts and misrepresents a series of events in the women's movement in an attempt to substantiate these charges. The second article in this reply will set the record straight on number of these distortions.

SOCIALISM VS. FEMINISM?

I want to take up here one of the more basic questions raised by this article. It attacks the LSA and YS on the basis that "theirs is not a feminist analysis nor do they support a feminist revolution." It continues: "They focus specifically on class struggle which is only one aspect of feminism; by saying that capitalism, not sexism, is the first enemy".

In other words, the *Other Woman* counterposes the struggle against capitalism and the struggle against sexism: it tries to imply that the struggle for socialism and for women's liberation are two separate and divergent struggles.

We disagree completely with this



MASS FEMINIST MOVEMENT as part of struggle for socialism is goal of League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists. LSA and YS helped build this demonstration for repeal of anti-abortion laws in 1971.

view. Marxists have always supported the struggles of women to win liberation; the YS and the LSA, as Marxist groups, have welcomed and supported what has been termed the "second wave" of feminism — the upsurge in women's consciousness and women's struggles around the world in the last five or six years.

Women in the LSA and the YS have fully participated in the women's movement from the beginning, learning from it and helping to build it to the best of our abilities. For many of us it was our experiences in the feminist movement that first led us to question the kind of society we live in, and eventually brought us to socialist conclusions.

The *Other Woman* represents a current in the women's movement which generally holds the view that

all men are the oppressors of women — and that women must organize against all men to bring about a "women's revolution."

Women in the LSA and the YS have argued against this approach in the women's movement, and have advanced another analysis of women's oppression and how to end it — a Marxist analysis.

The *Other Woman* raises the spectre of "infiltration and manipulation" in order to obscure — and avoid dealing with — the real political differences they have with the women of the LSA.

This method has a name — it is called red-baiting. Its purpose is to avoid having to confront socialist ideas by making women afraid to find out about socialism. It's a kind of censorship on what ideas women

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in the feminist movement are allowed to hear.

WHAT KIND OF ANALYSIS?

Just what is needed in a "feminist analysis?"

The only useful definition is: an analysis that helps women struggle effectively — that explains women's oppression, what its roots are, how it is maintained, and gives some indication of how to end it.

These are questions that the Other Woman article does not even ask, let alone answer. Yet these are the questions that the women's movement has been grappling with since its inception. These are the questions that give rise to the many differences of opinion and perspective in the women's movement.

ROOTS OF WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

One of the first questions that any "feminist" analysis has to answer is: are women **naturally** inferior? Is it women's biology — or society — that oppresses women? This is an important question — for if women's oppression is biological, not social, then it is biology we must change, not society.

Marxists answer clearly — women are **not** naturally inferior. This answer is based on anthropological evidence of the earliest human societies, which reveals an important fact: women were not always oppressed. Up until a few thousand years ago, women and men functioned as social equals. Although this was no golden age, but a time of difficult struggles for survival of the human race, women were not disadvantaged by being women. In fact, women were the main producers and leaders of the community, and actually developed many of the basic skills that placed humanity on the road to civilization — agriculture, tanning, weaving, pottery-making and many others.

It was with the rise of **class society** — the division of society into classes, rich and poor, owners and non-owners — that women were relegated to an inferior social position. In the same social upheaval that destroyed communal control of land, livestock, etc. and made these the private property of a small exploiting class, and which gave birth to a slave society, based on private ownership of human beings (both male and female), women lost their equal status. Not only slave women, but also women

of the possessing classes became the private property of the men who owned them.

THE PATRIARCHAL FAMILY

This subservience was enforced by the patriarchal family, which became the main institution for perpetuating the class divisions of society from one generation to the next. Women were relegated to second class status in society because it served — not the needs of men in general, as Other Woman would have us think — but the needs of the men who owned property.

"Monogamy" was enforced for wives in order to ensure that it was indeed the father's son who would inherit his wealth.

With the destruction of communal society, the family also took on what had previously been a community obligation: care for those who could not produce — children, the sick, the aged.

The structure and the functions of the family have varied during the millenia of its existence. Its role has varied in the different stages of class society — slavery, feudalism and capitalism — and from one class to another. But the essential function has always remained the same. Like the state apparatus — the armies, police, laws, courts, etc. — the family is a repressive institution designed to serve the interests of the ruling classes in society. Because of the need to strengthen the family and women's role in it, the myth of the natural inferiority of women has permeated the ruling ideologies of class society, including its religions.

Can women escape the effects of the family within the present society — for example by not getting married, by not having anything to do with men, by having a job outside the home, etc.?

No. Although these may make some women's lives more tolerable, they are not the solution to women's oppression.

The effects of the family are not just the subservient position of women within the family itself, but the fact that there are no alternatives outside the family for the jobs assigned women within it. For example, there aren't widely available child care centers, laundries, kitchens, housecleaning services, etc. because this society is organized on the basis of these services being performed in the family. Cheaply. At the least possible cost to the profit-makers.

And because it is women who do these jobs, women have to be channeled into the role of wife and



INFILTRATORS? Other Woman newspaper claims that Trotskyists seek to 'infiltrate, splinter and destroy' women's liberation movement.

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mother by denying them safe, effective birth control and abortion on demand, by making it hard for women to get adequate job training, by reserving only the lowest-paid jobs for women and making promotions difficult for women to get — and by carrying on propaganda campaigns to convince women that they like this situation.

These are the restrictions that are making women angry today. More and more women are recognizing the contradiction between the lives they want and the lives this society allows women to lead. More and more women are prepared to fight the sexism of this society.

The cause of this sexism is the system that creates it and depends on women's subordinate role to maintain itself: the class system, class society — the latest form of which is capitalism. It is this system which — the Other Woman to the contrary — must be ended if women are to liberate themselves.

WHAT KIND OF REVOLUTION?

Marxists say that what is necessary to end capitalism and lay the basis for women's liberation is a socialist revolution.

We do not believe that this society can be patched up to meet women's needs, but that it must be entirely replaced by a socialist society. That revolution will be carried out not just by women — as Other Woman implies with the term "feminist revolution" — but by all the oppressed, working together to destroy the power of the capitalist class that thrives on their oppression.

Women should by no means simply wait for this revolution to solve their problems. Women's struggles right now are very important. They can win important gains, like the legalization of abortion. Through such struggles, women will learn how to struggle, will gain confidence in their own strength, and learn who their enemies and potential allies are.

Nor will the socialist revolution solve all of women's problems right away. It will take time and continued struggles to do away with not only the institutions of women's oppression, but also with the sexist attitudes that arise from these institutions. The socialist revolution will lay the basis for creating a society that is not maintained by oppressing women. It will make it possible for the first time to create social alternatives to the services now provided privately in the family — like child care, laundry and cooking. It will be a profoundly "feminist revolution" in that sense. And the existence of a strong feminist movement will help carry through the tasks of completing women's liberation.

Other Woman points out that "sexism can exist in non-capitalist societies." True. It existed in precapitalist class societies, and it still exists in postcapitalist workers states like the Soviet Union and China. It must be pointed out that the Russian revolution made big advances for women — including wide-ranging legislation on marriage and the family — which were only reversed with the bureaucratic deformation of the USSR under Stalinism. Trotskyism — the political current which the LSA and the YS represent in Canada — was born in the fight against Stalinism and its betrayals.

We see the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism as inseparably intertwined. One is not possible without the other. We do not see any contradiction between feminist views and socialist views. On the contrary, we have often said that the most consistent way to be a feminist and put feminist ideas into practice is to be a socialist and help fight for socialism.

DANGERS OF EXCLUSIONISM

Other Woman labels the Marxist analysis of women's oppression as "not feminist" for only one reason — in order to define women who are members of the LSA and the YS as outside the women's liberation movement.

It underlines this intention by referring to our participation in the women's movement as "infiltration."

But a policy of excluding women from the women's movement on the basis of their ideas — or any other basis — is a very dangerous course to embark upon.

There are many different viewpoints and approaches within the women's movement. This is very natural and important for a new movement — particularly one which poses such fundamental questions as the feminist movement does.

Unity is very important for the women's movement. But unity cannot be artificially imposed. It will only come about through open discussion and debate, and through the concrete struggles of women, which will put the many different views to the test.

Exclusionism can never solve the differences in the women's movement — it just makes them harder to clarify and work out.

Other Woman cannot avoid confronting the ideas of the LSA and the YS in the women's movement by red-baiting or exclusion. In trying to use these rotten discredited practices, they do the women's movement a serious disservice.

(to be continued)

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We do not believe that this society can be patched up to meet women's needs, but that it must be entirely replaced by a socialist society. That revolution will be carried out not just by women — as *The Other Woman* implies with the term "feminist revolution" — but by all the oppressed, working together to destroy the power of the capitalist class that thrives on their oppression.

Women should by no means simply wait for this revolution to solve their problems. Women's struggles right now are very important. They can win important gains, like the legalization of abortion. Through such struggles, women will learn how to struggle, will gain confidence in their own strength, and learn who their enemies and potential allies are.

Nor will the socialist revolution solve all of women's problems right away. It will take time and continued struggles to do away with not only the institutions of women's oppression, but also with the sexist attitudes that arise from these institutions. The socialist revolution will lay the basis for creating a society that is **not** maintained by oppressing women. It will make it possible for the first time to create social alternatives to the services now provided privately in the family — like child care, laundry and cooking. It will be a profoundly "feminist revolution" in that sense. And the existence of a strong feminist movement will help carry through the tasks of completing women's liberation.

The Other Woman points out that "sexism can exist in non-capitalist societies." True. It existed in precapitalist class societies, and it still exists in post-capitalist workers states like the Soviet Union and China. It must be pointed out that the Russian revolution made big advances for women — including wide-ranging legislation on marriage and the family — which were only reversed with the bureaucratic deformation of the USSR under Stalinism. Trotskyism — the political current which the LSA and the YS represent in Canada — was born in the fight against Stalinism and its betrayals.

We see the struggle for women's liberation and the struggle for socialism as inseparably intertwined. One is not possible without the other. We do not see any contradiction between feminist views and socialist views. On the contrary, we have often said that the most consistent way to be a feminist and put feminist ideas into practice is to be a socialist and help fight for socialism.

DANGERS OF EXCLUSIONISM

The Other Woman labels the Marxist analysis of women's oppression as "not feminist" for only one reason — in order to define women who are members of the LSA and the YS as outside the women's liberation movement.

It underlines this intention by referring to our participation in the women's movement as "infiltration." But a policy of excluding women from the women's movement on the basis of their ideas — or any other basis — is a very dangerous course to embark upon.

There are many different viewpoints and approaches within the women's movement. This is very natural and important for a new movement — particularly one which poses such fundamental questions as the feminist movement does.

Unity is very important for the women's movement. But unity cannot be artificially imposed. It will only come about through open discussion and debate, and through the concrete struggles of women, which will put the many different views to the test.

Exclusionism can never solve the differences in the women's movement — it just makes them harder to clarify and work out. *The Other Woman* cannot avoid confronting the ideas of the LSA and the YS in the women's movement by red-baiting or exclusion. In trying to use these rotten discredited practices, they do the women's movement a serious disservice.

(to be continued)

LSA/LSO meeting plans spring activities

by ART YOUNG

Leaders of the Canadian revolutionary socialist movement gathered at the start of the year to discuss policy, review the work of the movement, and set plans for the months ahead.

The Central Committee of the League for Socialist Action / Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière held a plenary meeting Jan. 1-3.

For the last year and a half, the League has been intensively discussing and debating all major issues of Canadian and international politics. The main energies of the organization were devoted to this process, which clarified the issues in dispute and succeeded in uniting a large majority of the organization around its program.

The plenum marked a turn of the organization back to a stress on open activity.

Reports of leaders of the organization showed that even while preoccupied with internal discussion, the League had scored some important successes. It played a major role in the left at the federal NDP convention in July. In the struggle against B.C. Premier Dave Barrett's antilabor Bill 11, culminating in the rejection of the government's stand by the B.C. NDP convention in November, the LSA/LSO was a crucial component. No less impressive is the work being done by the League among teachers in Ontario, who are struggling against the government's education cutbacks.

The plenum decided to build on these and other achievements by turning the full attention of the organization to external work. Separate reports were given on women's liberation and the defense of Dr. Morgentaler, recent progress in Quebec, and new opportunities for the Young Socialist / Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

The main report of the plenum, on tasks, motivated an ambitious many-sided campaign of socialist education. It is true, stated reporter Phil Courneyeur, that the period since the signing of the Vietnam accords has seen fewer large mobilizations. But this does not mean that the radicalization has been turned back. On the contrary, our experience shows that it is



photo by MacInnis

continuing, and reaching new layers. The forms of expression of the radicalization have changed for the moment, but the questioning and dissatisfaction are still present. People are searching for the answers. And we must be there to provide them. This means that we have to qualitatively step up our revolutionary propaganda, he concluded.

As part of this campaign, the plenum decided to support a drive to greatly increase the circulation of the revolutionary socialist press, concentrating on the sales of single copies of each issue. Last fall's joint subscription drive for Labor Challenge, the monthly Young Socialist, and the French-language Liberation was very successful, surpassing its original goal of 2,500 subscriptions by more than 150. The goal of the single-sales drive, to begin shortly, will be to give the circulation of the socialist press another large boost.

Also part of the propaganda campaign decided upon by the plenum will be LSA/LSO participation in the educational conferences planned by the YS LJS in major centers across Canada in March. In addition, the two organizations will be working together to organize cross-country tours of prominent socialist speakers. They will also be carrying a series of study classes.

Strengthening the basic building blocks of the organization, the

branches, was another concern of the plenum, which set in motion a series of measures designed to accomplish this aim.

Immediately prior to the plenum, about 175 persons attended a three-day convention of the LSA/LSO. The special convention discussed the issues on the agenda of the coming World Congress of the Fourth International. The LSA/LSO is the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Under the question of orientation in Argentina and Bolivia, delegates discussed the role of guerilla warfare, Guevarism, and the Leninist strategy of party-building. The discussion on Western Europe covered, among other things, how to intervene in the rising workers' struggles in the different countries, and how to relate to the mass Social-Democratic and Communist parties. Under the world political situation, delegates considered the meaning of the Vietnam accords, the Washington-Moscow and Washington-Peking detentes, and the lessons of the defeat in Chile.

The convention also heard a report on the current stage of building the Fourth International.

Present at the convention were representatives of organizations of the Fourth International from four continents. Greetings were received from other Trotskyist groups.

After considerable discussion, the positions of the leadership were unanimously approved by the 21 delegates.

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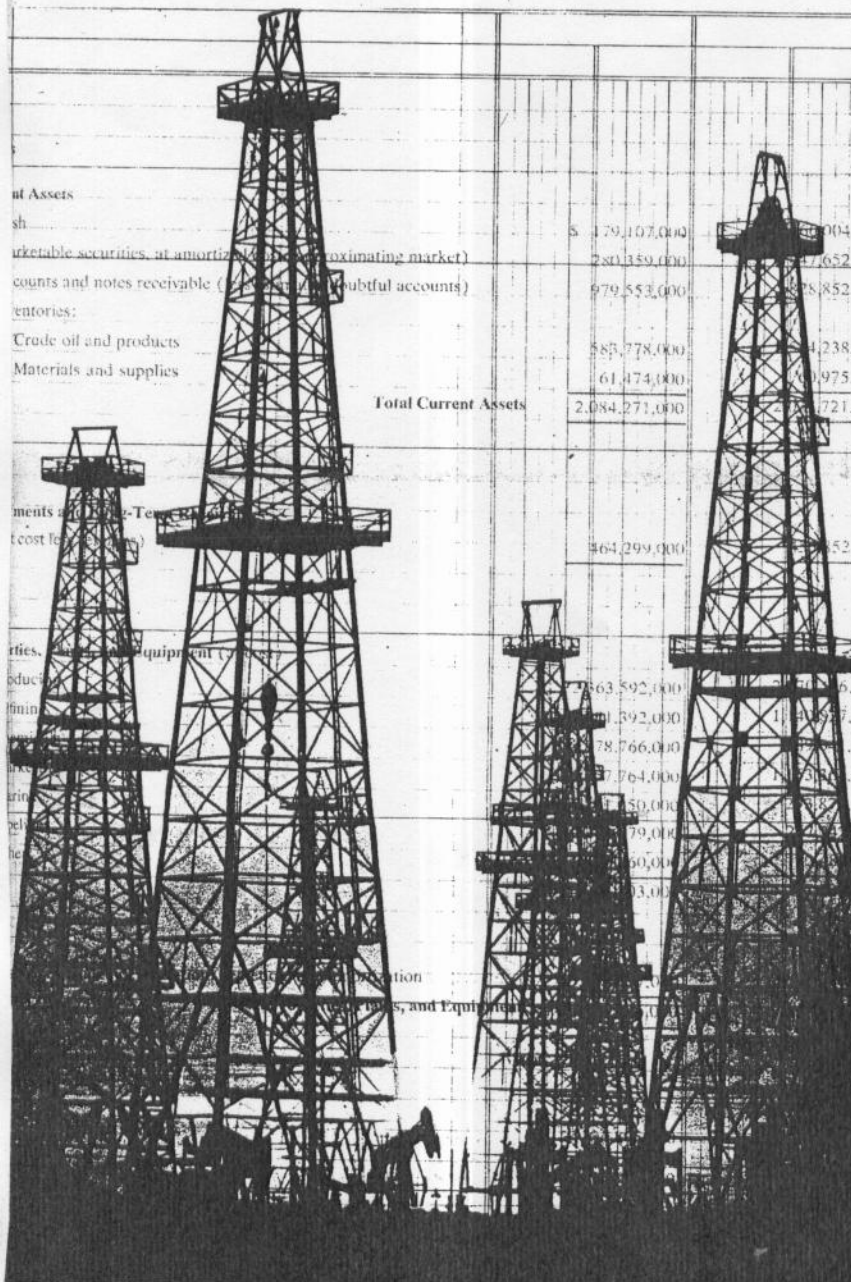
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STOP OIL PROFITEERS!



Government has no answers for energy crisis

by DENNIS MARLON

If the Jan. 22-23 federal-provincial energy conference did little else, it put the official stamp of approval on an imminent hike in oil prices. Ottawa and the provinces agreed to abandon the voluntary price freeze on western Canadian crude April 1.

"The only thing we are prepared to declare now," Trudeau commented at the end of the conference, "is at the end of the restraint period there will be an agreed price, a reasonable price that will continue to increase reasonably and by stages."

Canadians can expect to be paying 75 to 85 cents a gallon for their gasoline after the freeze is lifted, B.C. Premier Dave Barrett told the press after the conference. He called for a federal inquiry into the scandalous tax concessions granted the oil monopolies.

"We have concluded that prices to Canadian producers must bear some relationship to world prices," commented Allan Blakeney, NDP premier of Saskatchewan, one of the producing provinces.

The conference turned mainly on squabbles among the various regional interests and Ottawa over when prices should rise, how closely they should be allowed to approach the price on the international market, and what proportion of increased tax revenues should go to the oil-producing provinces.

The federal government's right to tax oil exports was reaffirmed, though the form and amount of such

Meaning of Mideast accords

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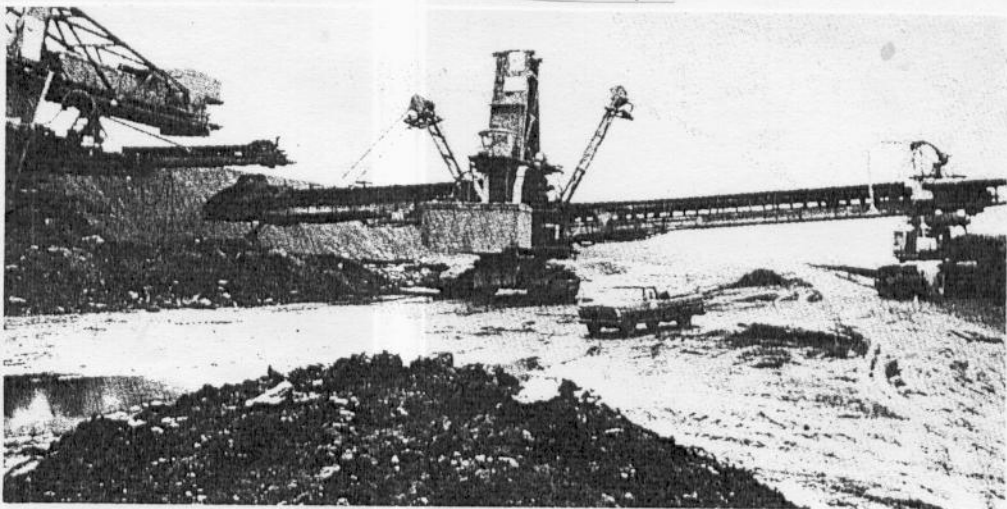
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taxation will remain a source of friction between Ottawa and the producing provinces. About half the funds from the present export tax will go back to the producing provinces.

The conference agreed to maintain a two-price system for oil even after the lifting of the price freeze March 31, though no pricing mechanisms were established. This means that domestic oil prices will be kept somewhat below the international price, assuring Canadian industrialists a competitive advantage on the world market.

While the Alberta and Saskatchewan government did not win the immediate lifting of the price freeze they expressed satisfaction at the conference results. The federal government's agreement to lift the freeze at the end of March was a concession to the producing

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MINING OPERATION in Athabasca oil sands. Development of sands by oil cartel assures continued profit-gouging and ecological havoc.

... Ottawa conference

continued from page 1

provinces; Ottawa had pledged to maintain the freeze until the end of the winter.

Saskatchewan will be allowed to raise its oil prices by between \$1.00 and \$2.00 a barrel right away, by increasing royalties.

The conference agreed to subsidize the provinces east of Ontario to absorb anticipated sharp increases in oil prices in the region. The price of oil in Quebec and the Maritimes is already substantially higher than in the rest of Canada.

After March 31, the conference accepted in principle, Canada should have one basic price of oil from coast to coast, which implies some sort of federal intervention in price fixing.

The real winners at the federal-provincial conference had no formal delegation, but their presence was felt with full force. "Ottawa may be suffering from shortages of

oil," commented Terrence Belford in the Jan. 17 *Globe and Mail*, "but it will soon be up to its knees in oilmen, both domestic and foreign."

Even if they couldn't get into the conference room these men didn't care. "Being at the conference itself may not be the most important aspect of a trip to Ottawa," Belford continued. "One official from Imperial Oil points out that he expects much of the real work to be done behind closed doors while the open sessions will be used mainly to discuss generalities."

Behind closed doors, the oilmen had their say. The conference granted them massive profit increases.

The voice of workers, unemployed, welfare recipients, and pensioners, who bear the brunt of increased "reasonable" prices, was not heard at the conference, or in the corridors and back rooms surrounding it.

NDP and the energy crisis



by DENNIS MARLON

Rising prices, threats of layoffs, deteriorating living conditions, uncertainty and apprehension about the future — for working people the energy crisis threatens our very livelihood.

The energy crisis has hit the pocketbooks of working people. Transportation and heating fuel prices are rising. By October 1973, according to figures from the Canadian Statistical Review, the industrial selling price of oil products from refineries rose 19.5 percent over October 1972. On New Year's Day, Energy minister Donald Macdonald said that by next summer the wholesale price of domestic fuel will increase by 100 to 150 percent over the present price. Jacked-up fuel prices contribute to the already-inflated economy. They come on the heels of massive escalations in food prices, increasing 17 percent between November 1972 and November 1973 according to Statistics Canada.

The danger of massive layoffs is growing. As the auto market convulses in response to skyrocketing gasoline prices, the jobs of auto workers are jeopardized. Finance minister Turner has predicted the energy crisis will be a major contributing factor to the slowing down of the economy, resulting in layoffs and unemployment. It may well become a major cause of a recession, occurring in all advanced capitalist countries which could lead to an international depression.

On top of these problems, the quality of life is being adversely affected as big business pressures governments to annul pollution regulations, the hard-fought victories of the ecology movement.

With prices soaring, the oil monopolies are reaping bonanza profits. And, true to their established practices, they are attempting to hide the facts about oil supplies, production costs, etc. — which would allow working people to determine the real causes of the energy crisis.

NDP program

Responding to the energy crisis, the federal NDP has formulated a series of policies, a number of them put forward more than six months ago. What are they and do they

provide any real answers for working people who face ever-increasing hardships?

- **Voluntary price freeze** This measure was introduced by the government last fall with the support of the NDP. The freeze was supposed to last until Jan. 31, 1974. But when the Liberals faced a non-confidence motion in early December, the NDP made the extension of the price beyond Jan. 31 until spring one of the conditions for continuing to support the Liberal government.

While this completely voluntary freeze does provide some relief, it only postpones increased prices. Both the government and the NDP are prepared to let prices rise in the spring. "I don't believe oil prices should never be increased," David Lewis commented on Jan. 20. The recent Federal / Provincial conference endorsed the impending price hikes at the same time as it agreed to lift the freeze at the end of March.

- **Canadian Petroleum Corporation** This longstanding NDP policy was another condition that the federal caucus demanded the Liberals implement in early December. "The time for a new national energy policy with a Canadian Petroleum Corporation as its cornerstone is now," David Lewis commented in the November / December issue of the New Democrat, a publication of the Ontario NDP.

The meager 40 million dollars — a drop in the oil cartel barrel — which was allotted to the corporation by the government when it accepted the policy is more like a pebble than a cornerstone. It is not big enough to provide any serious competition to the oil giants. What funds it does have, will be channeled into low-profit development and research, which the oil giants will use to full advantage to achieve higher profits. No immediate and growing problems faced by working people are solved by this measure.

Even if the operation of the Canada Development Corporation is considerably extended — as the NDP suggests, the oil giants would still control the major oil resources and refineries, allowing them to continue price-fixing and profit gouging.

- **Export tax and a two-price system for oil** Accepted today by the Liberal government,

these policies were laid out by NDP energy spokesman T.C. Douglas in the May 23 Commonwealth, organ of the Saskatchewan NDP: "We should place an export tax on oil going to the U.S., so that some of the profits arising from the oil shortage in the U.S. will revert to the people of Canada . . . We should set the price of oil at a figure that will give the companies a fair return on their investment and give Canadians the advantages of cheaper oil and gasoline."

In the first place these policies accept the notion that the oil corporations need increased profits — "a fair return" on top of the superprofits they already make.

Accepting this framework, the government and the NDP hope, by using Canada's abundant oil resources, to hold domestic prices slightly below international prices. The export tax will be used to subsidize the price of oil for Quebec and the maritimes, which obtain their major supplies of oil from the international market.

If successful these measures would be primarily beneficial to Canadian big business, enhancing its competitiveness with other capitalist countries.

While working people may not have to pay as much for fuel as consumers in other countries, prices will still jump. And since, in the capitalist world, oil resources, refining, and marketing are integrally connected, oil prices in Canada will continue to rise as international prices rise.

Moreover, these measures would do nothing to prevent Canada from sliding into a recession or depression with the rest of the capitalist world.

- **Athabaska tar sands development** In the Jan. 2, 1974 Commonwealth, Douglas indicated this was another condition placed on the Liberals in early December. The Liberals accepted it.

What Douglas did not say in his article is who should own and control the development — the government or big business. As it now stands, the government is giving huge grants to the corporations to develop the sands, but not even getting a share of the profits.

- **Opposition to the Mackenzie Pipeline** For some time the NDP has opposed this proposed pipeline, basing its opposition at least in part on respect for the aboriginal rights of the native people. However, it has chosen not to fight this issue, and did not make it one of the conditions for its support to the Trudeau government.

Nationalist program

These positions form the overall policy of the NDP, "a policy designed to maximize the benefits for Canadians in the future as well as in the present," according to David Lewis. In

fact the NDP policy will not stop price jumps nor prevent the oil cartel from reaping higher profits. Insofar as the NDP energy policy places restrictions on the oil monopolies, it does so to benefit, first and foremost, Canadian big business. Whatever benefits Canadian working people obtain are purely secondary.

The federal Liberal government had little difficulty accepting the NDP program for the energy crisis. It was a program for capitalism in Canada. As Prime Minister Trudeau said in a Jan. 5 *Globe and Mail* interview: "they are good Liberal policies."

Parliamentary alliance

Not only do Lewis and the NDP leadership advocate a capitalist program for the energy crisis, they present the Liberal party acceptance of this program as a victory for the NDP, and a justification for the federal caucus's strategy of "making parliamentary work" — which in reality means an informal parliamentary alliance with the Liberal party to enable the Liberals to continue governing as a minority party. For Lewis and the NDP brass, this "victory" answers "skeptics" in the NDP who see no justification for a parliamentary alliance — formal or informal — with a capitalist party like the Liberals. One federal NDP MP, John Rodriguez couldn't stomach the alliance and voted against the Liberal government energy policy, newly acquired from the NDP. "I just don't trust the bastards," he said.

But the NDP alliance with the Liberal party has produced no "victory" for working people. The NDP's continued support of the government confuses and disorients working people by giving credence to the Liberals and the capitalist policies they defend. The NDP parliamentary course is therefore a hindrance and a roadblock in the way of the development of struggles against the ill effects of the energy crisis.

Instead of the program of the NDP brass, a class struggle program is required to unite working people against the oil industry and the federal government, which consciously promotes its interests.

Class struggle policies

Complete nationalization of the oil industry is the only solution to the energy crisis. This would allow the vast resources in Canada to be rationally planned to serve people rather than profits and to provide adequate supplies of fuel at low prices. The superprofits accumulated for many years by the oil giants are payment enough for the wells and refineries. So that rational planning of work in refineries and other work places can occur, the industry should be democratically controlled by workers.

In contrast to this stance, the NDP has not fought for even a meek form of nationalization. It is true that David Lewis



called for the "eventual" nationalization of one of the oil giants — an option that even the Liberal cabinet is said to have considered. But this proposal by Lewis was put forward the day after he accepted the Liberal party energy policy in early December. For Lewis, such lip service to nationalization is an attempt to pacify the growing sentiment within the NDP and labor movement to rip the oil industry out of the hands of the capitalist class.

This conclusion is sustained by the positions of Ed Schreyer, NDP premier of Manitoba and T.C. Douglas. Both rejected nationalization at a recent "democratic socialist thinkers conference" in Regina, insisting that the multinational corporations must have a role to play.

A recent poll showed that 48 percent of Canadians favor nationalization of the oil industry, with 69 percent of NDP supporters favoring it.

Open the books!

Another class struggle policy to meet a real problem posed by the energy crisis is to force the oil giants to open their books — disclose

all their secrets, government connections, hidden profits, real expenses, and actual oil reserves.

To combat inflation, all wages should automatically rise with the price of commodities — the cost-of-living escalator clause. To ensure that pay increases correspond to price increases, the trade unions and consumer organizations should monitor price increases. Paycheque increments should occur as soon as price increases are detected by these bodies. The present cost-of-living clauses won by many auto workers, while giving some relief, provide too little, too late. All social security payments — old age pensions, welfare, unemployment insurance, etc. — should be increased in direct proportion to increases in the cost of living.

To meet the problem of factory layoffs — permanent or temporary — the work week should be shortened with no loss in pay. Why should workers be fragmented and weakened — unemployed workers set against employed worker in the job market — in order to solve a problem created by the oil monopolies?

A class struggle program must include the defense of the aboriginal rights of natives whose lands are stolen and raped to make way for vast power projects.

Struggle around these policies would frontally challenge the profit system as a whole and would be an important battle in the struggle for a socialist society.

By rejecting a class struggle program, in favor of inadequate reforms and parliamentary deals, the NDP has rejected the only solution to the energy crisis open to the working people of Canada.



"Shortage? WHAT short-t-t-t ... Oh! you mean that terrible ol' FUEL shortage!"

Defend Dr. Morgentaler

Build March 9 protest!

by LIS ANGUS

The victimization of Dr. Henry Morgentaler by the Quebec Justice Department continues. On Jan. 29 the Crown will begin proceedings in the Quebec Court of Appeals in an attempt to overturn the recent acquittal of Dr. Morgentaler on the first of thirteen charges under the federal abortion law.

Central to this appeal will be a challenge to the admissibility of Article 45 of the Criminal Code — on which Dr. Morgentaler's defense was based — as a legitimate defense in an abortion case.

The acquittal of Dr. Morgentaler last November by a Quebecois jury was a victory for women fighting for their right to abortion in Canada and around the world. It indicated the widespread support which exists for his case, and broad opposition to the restrictive abortion law under which he was charged — the same law which is responsible for the humiliation, despair, mutilation and even death of countless women every year.

The fight has just begun. This appeal by the Crown is only one of a number of indications that the government has no intention of granting women the right to abortion — or of allowing the fundamental challenge to its abortion law, which Dr. Morgentaler's case represents, to stand.

It is now more urgent than ever to mobilize support in defense of Dr. Morgentaler.

Demonstrations across the country on Jan. 26 and 29 protested the Crown's appeal; other meetings, rallies, and debates are planned to publicize the case and build support for it.

A major spring action in the defense campaign has been launched with a call for an Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, to take place in Ottawa on March 9.



photo by Grant Hargrave
COMMITTEES TO DEFEND DR. MORGENTALER are planning spring tribunal and demonstration in Ottawa, March 9.

This action will bring together supporters of Dr. Morgentaler and of women's right to abortion from across the country to demand that all charges against Morgentaler be dropped and that the abortion law be repealed.

"A Tribunal is one of the most ancient forms of justice, convened by the people to indict those responsible for grave injustices," states the call for the Tribunal, issued by the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler.

"Through the testimony of women from all backgrounds and experiences from all parts of the country, and through the testimony of legal and medical experts, the Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler will draw together the evidence necessary to indict those responsible for victimizing Dr. Morgentaler and denying women the right to safe, legal abortion.

"The Tribunal, which will be simultaneously translated into English and French, will culminate in a demonstration to Parliament Hill to present our indictments and demands to the self-appointed guardians of women's bodies and lives.

"The Tribunal will dispel the myths surrounding abortion and give voice to the tens of thousands of women who daily suffer under the law which is now publicly victimizing Dr. Morgentaler.

"Never has it been more critical for all those who support and defend a woman's

right to control her own body and the dropping of all charges against Dr. Morgentaler, to join together in a united action of people from across the country in Ottawa, where the anti-abortion law was passed and upheld and where, too, it must be repealed."

The call also outlines what is at stake in Dr. Morgentaler's case. "A victory in this case will be a victory for all women who seek control over their reproductive lives. A defeat will mean a continuation of therapeutic abortion committees and their attendant delays, red-tape and discriminatory practices. Most tragically a defeat will mean an increase in the butchery and trauma of back-street abortion, as doctors like Dr. Morgentaler, continue to find their hands tied by an archaic, restrictive law."

The Committee is calling on all supporters of abortion rights to help build this action, to make it an impressive reply to the government's attacks and give voice to the majority of Canadians who support a woman's right to abortion.

The call concludes, "Join us in this dramatic and important event. The Tribunal will strike a powerful blow for justice for the present and future generations of women who want the right to decide when and if to complete a pregnancy and for all those who, like Dr. Henry Morgentaler, want only the freedom to assist women in exercising this basic right."

Reply to 'The Other Woman'

Why socialists join feminist struggles

This is the second of two articles replying to an attack on the League for Socialist Action and its sympathizing youth organization, the Young Socialists. This attack came in an article entitled "Infiltration of the Women's Movement by the YS/ LSA" published in the November-December issue of *The Other Woman*, a Toronto feminist newspaper.

by LIS ANGUS

The Other Woman claims that the LSA is out to "divert the women's movement away from smashing male supremacism and all the attending evils of racism, classism, etc., and towards getting more reforms and basic civil liberties. They try to persuade women that as we get more freedoms such as abortion, day care centers, women's studies programs, capitalism will gradually change and we will be totally free."

Two points are made in this brief quotation.

The first is that women will not gain their liberation through a process of gradual changes and reform — that a fundamental change in society is required.

This point is absolutely correct. *The Other Woman* is simply wrong to say that the LSA does not hold this view — to state that our strategy is a reformist one. In the first article of this series, we explained the revolutionary strategy of the LSA and YS.

Where we disagree with *The Other Woman* is not on whether or not a revolution is necessary, but on what kind of revolution. We pointed out that it is a socialist revolution, with the working class as a whole playing the decisive role, which is needed before women's oppression can be ended; and that *The Other Woman's* concept of a "feminist revolution" ignores the nature of the society we live in and how it must be changed.

We pointed out that the struggle against women's oppression is part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist class and the institutions through which it maintains its power. Thus, this struggle will play an important role in the coming socialist revolution.

The second point made by *The Other Woman* is that concrete struggles for women's needs are a diversion from the task of fundamentally changing society.

Nothing could be further from the truth. People will come to an understanding of the

need for revolution only through struggles for concrete gains — for demands that grow out of their immediate needs. The fights today for repeal of the abortion laws, for child care or for equal pay, are part of the process through which women are coming to revolutionary conclusions.

It is through struggles like these that women will learn the power of collective action, and will gain confidence in their own ability to struggle and win victories.

It is in concrete struggles that women will learn who their enemies are, and how firmly they oppose women's liberation. Women will find out for themselves that their oppression is rooted in the very structure of society: that although the government may be forced to concede certain reforms, women's oppression can only be eliminated through changing the whole system.

And it is in such struggles that women will also learn where their allies can be found: namely in the working class and in other oppressed groups in this society.

Women will learn the importance of carrying their own struggles independently of the ruling class and its institutions — that they cannot rely on government, commissions, councils, ministries or government-funded projects to carry women's fights for them.

That is the process by which the LSA and YS see women radicalizing. But how does *The Other Woman* propose to unite women so that they can become a powerful force for change?

It doesn't. The perspective it does offer — that of excluding points of view it disagrees with (like that of the LSA and YS) from the women's movement — can only fragment women's struggles.

The fight to legalize abortion

The Other Woman accuses the LSA of having "co-opted the abortion issue from the women's movement."

What lies behind this charge?

The LSA supports the abortion rights struggle, and LSA women have helped to lead this struggle. We support it not only because the struggle to win abortion rights is an important one for women, but because it is around this issue that the opponents of women's liberation around the world are lining up to fight. And it is around this issue that women have mobilized; since 1970, when



THE OTHER WOMAN attempts to cover up its abstention from abortion rights struggle by claiming that Young Socialists and League for Socialist Action have "co-opted" the issue. Above, 1971 demonstration for abortion law repeal, which LSA and YS helped build.

the Abortion Caravan crossed Canada to lead a march of women in Ottawa, women have shown their willingness to act against this aspect of their oppression.

The LSA and the YS did not create this ferment around the abortion issue. We recognized it and acted to join and help lead this struggle. Far from co-opting the movement, we fought for a perspective of reaching out and involving more women in the campaign. We have consistently challenged all feminist organizations to participate.

What the charge of "co-optation" covers up is the fact that supporters of the views expressed in *The Other Woman* have abstained from the abortion rights struggle. They have remained on the sidelines, refusing to join one of the most militant and active fights for women's rights — one which if defeated would constitute a grave setback to the entire women's liberation movement.

Defense of Dr. Morgentaler

The Other Woman also attacks the LSA for supporting the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler, the Montreal physician who faces charges of performing illegal abortions.

The article states that "doctors who have made thousands of dollars" from performing abortions for women should not be the emphasis of the abortion campaign. "Because he (Dr. Morgentaler) is a man he will draw attention to the issue for the worst anti-woman reasons. He is not a hero for doing what is every doctor's duty."

These statements reveal a complete lack of understanding of what the prosecution of Dr. Morgentaler means for the women's movement.

Who decided to focus the struggle for abortion rights around Dr. Morgentaler?

The LSA? The abortion law repeal movement? No.

That decision was made by the federal government and the Quebec Justice Department when they launched this prosecution.

The opponents of women's right to abortion hope to deal a vicious blow to the women's movement by convicting Dr. Morgentaler. If he is convicted, not only will safe abortions be much harder to get, but women's confidence in their ability to struggle collectively and win

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victories will be severely undermined.

On the other hand, a victory for Dr. Morgentaler would mean a victory for Canadian women. It would give women confidence in their ability to struggle — and spur on the fight to remove the anti-abortion law from the Criminal Code.

Much more is at stake in this case than simply the professional reputation and liberty of an individual doctor. In defending him, women are responding to one of the most vicious attacks they have faced in this country. It is a real test of strength, in which the anti-woman forces are lined up against the women's movement and its allies.

But again we see **The Other Woman** and its supporters weakening the struggle by abstaining from it.

Supporters of **The Other Woman's** point of view have allowed the fact that Dr. Morgentaler is male — and their belief that women can have nothing to do with men — to blind them to the real implications of this case for women. The challenge before supporters of **The Other Woman** — as before all supporters of women's rights — is to join the fight for the right of women to control their reproductive lives by helping prevent the victimization of Dr. Morgentaler.

Debate and discussion

The Other Woman raises some incidents which supposedly "expose" the divisive role of LSA women in the women's movement. Two debates are cited, one in the Vancouver Women's Caucus in 1970 and one in the Toronto Women's Caucus in 1972.

Aside from the distortions and inaccuracies in these accounts, and the fact that only one viewpoint in the debates is reported, what the article really accuses LSA women of is arguing openly for our politics.

Apparently, what we argued for is irrelevant — since **The Other Woman** makes no attempt to explain what we said in these debates, much less answer our arguments.

What LSA women have consistently argued for is the perspective of building the women's movement which was presented in the earlier part of this reply. In particular, we argued for democratic decision-making and non-exclusionism in the women's movement, and the importance of concrete struggles like the abortion rights struggle to draw increasing numbers of women into the movement and give them confidence in their collective strength.

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Certainly. We want to convince women to support our ideas and our approach — just as does anyone with any confidence in their ideas, including presumably **The Other Woman**. Only the future will show which views prove able to win women's support in life.

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We do not advocate a hierarchical leadership, but a leadership that is democratically elected on the basis of discussion and common understanding of the tasks. In the absence of such a democratic leadership, what develops is not egalitarianism but self-appointed clique leaderships which are not responsible to anyone. We have seen this happen time and time again in the women's movement, undermining women's confidence and the effectiveness of their struggles.

The Other Woman accuses the LSA of being undemocratic. In fact, it is their approach which is undemocratic — it proposes a women's movement which allows no open discussion of differences, which operates with an undercover leadership, and which excludes anyone who objects to this perspective.

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Revolutionary party

Why do women join the LSA?

First of all, because the LSA completely supports the fight for women's liberation; it explains the basis of women's oppression and how the fight against it is interlocked with the fight to overthrow capitalism and construct a socialist society.

And secondly, because of the kind of organization the LSA is.

The Marxist movement has learned from experience that the task of overthrowing the capitalist rulers is a very big one. It needs to be organized and led by a revolutionary party that embodies the experiences and lessons of all the struggles of the working class and the oppressed, and is composed of the best and most dedicated militants who want to work together to lead the struggle for socialism.

Lenin — who built the Bolshevik party which led the Russian revolution — first developed the concept of such a party.

What the absence of such a party means was shown most recently in Chile, where despite the desire of the people for socialism, without a revolutionary party to lead their struggles, they fell victim to one of the bloodiest defeats in recent history.

The LSA is modelled on the Bolshevik party; its aim is to become the kind of party which can effectively lead the revolution in Canada.

The Other Woman accuses us of "recruiting women from the women's movement." We certainly do. We do everything we can to convince feminists of our socialist program, and to encourage them to join the LSA and YS — to make the most effective contribution to the struggle to liberate women and all humanity.

A 'single fight'

The Other Woman says it is necessary to "understand the integral nature" of struggles around class, race, and sexuality, and "combine them into a single fight."

We agree. Further, we feel that only a Marxist analysis can provide that understanding; only a revolutionary socialist party can combine these struggles into a single fight.

That is why we are both feminists and socialists. That is why we recommend to feminists that they join the LSA and the YS, to help advance the struggle for a socialist world and the end of all oppression — including women's oppression.

Why socialists join feminist struggles

Reply to 'The Other Woman'

(Labor Challenge, Feb. 1974)

*(Web Editor note: In the paragraphs under the heading "Revolutionary party" below, the politics of the new leadership of the LSA emerge, * with the author's posing the LSA as "the revolutionary party," not only in violation of long-standing Canadian Trotskyist movement policy of presenting the LSA as a "League" -- merely a nucleus of a future party, as a tendency in Canadian politics, positioning itself forcibly as a left caucus despite expulsions, within the mass Canadian labor party -- the NDP, thus avoiding any sectarian positioning of the movement as "the" revolutionary tendency at this stage in the development of the Canadian left. With the reference to Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of Russia in 1917, all of the LSA's past and insistent perspective of linking the women's movement with the mass labor party disappears into thin air.)*

This is the second of two articles replying to an attack on the League for Socialist Action and its sympathizing youth organization, the Young Socialists. This attack came in an article entitled "Infiltration of the Women's Movement by the YS/LSA" published in the November-December issue of The Other Woman, a Toronto feminist newspaper.

by LIS ANGUS

The Other Woman claims that the LSA is out to "divert the women's movement away from smashing male supremacism and all the attending evils of racism, classism, etc., and towards getting more reforms and basic civil liberties. They try to persuade women that as we get more freedoms such as abortion, day care centers, women's studies programs, capitalism will gradually change and we will be totally free."

Two points are made in this brief quotation. The first is that women will not gain their liberation through a process of gradual changes and reform — that a fundamental change in society is required.

This point is absolutely correct. *The Other Woman* is simply wrong to say that the LSA does not hold this view — to state that our strategy is a reformist one. In the first article of this series, we explained the revolutionary strategy of the LSA and YS.

Where we disagree with *The Other Woman* is not on whether or not a revolution is necessary, but on what kind of revolution. We pointed out that it is a socialist revolution, with the working class as a whole playing the decisive role, which is needed before women's oppression can be ended; and that *The Other Woman's* concept of a "feminist revolution" ignores the nature of the society we live in and how it must be changed.

We pointed out that the struggle against women's oppression is part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist class and the institutions through which it maintains its power. Thus, this struggle will play an important role in the coming socialist revolution.

The second point made by *The Other Woman* is that concrete struggles for women's needs are a diversion from the task of fundamentally changing society.

Nothing could be further from the truth. People will come to an understanding of the need for revolution only through struggles for concrete gains — for demands that grow out of their immediate needs. The fights today for repeal of the abortion laws, for child care or for equal pay, are part of the process through which women are coming to revolutionary conclusions. It is through struggles like these that women will learn the power of collective action, and will gain confidence in their own ability to struggle and win victories.

It is in concrete struggles that women will learn who their enemies are, and how firmly they oppose women's liberation. Women will find out for themselves that their oppression is rooted in the very structure of society; that although the government may be forced to concede certain reforms, women's oppression can only be eliminated through changing the whole system.

And it is in such struggles that women will also learn where their allies can be found: namely in the working class and in other oppressed groups in this society.

Women will learn the importance of carrying their own struggles independently of the ruling class and its institutions — that they cannot rely on government, commissions, councils, ministries or government-funded projects to carry women's fights for them.

That is the process by which the LSA and YS see women radicalizing. But how does *The Other Woman* propose to unite women so that they can become a powerful force for change?

It doesn't. The perspective it does offer — that of excluding points of view it disagrees with (like that of the LSA and YS) from the women's movement — can only fragment women's struggles.

The fight to legalize abortion

The Other Woman accuses the LSA of having "co-opted the abortion issue from the women's movement."

What lies behind this charge?

The LSA supports the abortion rights struggle, and LSA women have helped to lead this struggle. We support it not only because the struggle to win abortion rights is an important one for women, but because it is around this issue that the opponents of women's liberation around the world are lining up to fight. And it is around this issue that women have mobilized; since 1970, when the Abortion Caravan crossed Canada to lead a march of women in Ottawa, women have shown their willingness to act against this aspect of their oppression.

The LSA and the YS did not create this ferment around the abortion issue. We recognized it and acted to join and help lead this struggle. Far from co-opting the movement, we fought for a perspective of reaching out and involving more women in the campaign. We have consistently challenged all feminist organizations to participate.

What the charge of "co-optation" covers up is the fact that supporters of the views expressed in *The Other Woman* have **abstained** from the abortion rights struggle. They have remained on the sidelines, refusing to join one of the most militant and active fights for women's rights — one which if defeated would constitute a grave setback to the entire women's liberation movement.

Defense of Dr. Morgentaler

The Other Woman also attacks the LSA for supporting the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaier, the Montreal physician who faces charges of performing illegal abortions.

The article states that "doctors who have made thousands of dollars" from performing abortions' for women should not be the emphasis of the abortion campaign. "Because he (Dr. Morgentaler) is a man he will draw attention to the issue for the worst anti-woman reasons. He is not a hero for doing what is every doctor's duty."

These statements reveal a complete lack of understanding of what the prosecution of Dr. Morgentaler means for the women's movement.

Who decided to focus the struggle for abortion rights around Dr. Morgentaier? The LSA? The abortion law repeal, movement? No. That decision was made by the federal government and the Quebec Justice Department when they launched this prosecution.

The opponents of women's right to abortion hope to deal a vicious blow to the women's movement by convicting Dr. Morgentaler. If he is convicted, not only will safe abortions be much harder to get, but women's confidence in their ability to struggle collectively and win victories will be severely undermined.

On the other hand, a victory for Dr. Morgentaler would mean a victory for Canadian women. It would give women confidence in their ability to struggle — and spur on the fight to remove the anti-abortion law from the Criminal Code.

Much more is at stake in this case than simply the professional reputation and liberty of an individual doctor. In defending him, women are responding to one of the most vicious attacks they have faced in this country. It is a real test of strength, in which the anti-woman forces are lined up against the women's movement and its allies.

But again we see *The Other Woman* and its supporters weakening the struggle by abstaining from it.

Supporters of *The Other Woman's* point of view have allowed the fact that Dr. Morgentaler is male — and their belief that women can have nothing to do with men — to blind them to the real implications of this case for women. The challenge before supporters of *The Other Woman* — as before all supporters of women's rights — is to join the fight for the right of women to control their reproductive lives by helping prevent the victimization of Dr. Morgentaler.

Debate and discussion

The Other Woman raises some incidents which supposedly "expose" the divisive role of LSA women in the women's movement. Two debates are cited, one in the Vancouver Women's Caucus in 1970 and one in the Toronto Women's Caucus in 1972.

Aside from the distortions and inaccuracies in these accounts, and the fact that only one viewpoint in the debates is reported, what the article really accuses LSA women of is arguing openly for our politics.

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Revolutionary party (*Y-R tendency politics*)*

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*"YR" refers to Young-Riddell, recently installed young leaders of the LSA/LSO

The NDP -- The Marxist View

THE NDP—THE MARXIST VIEW. Vanguard Publications, Toronto. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 25 Bulwer St., Toronto 2B. 50 cents.

With its recently-published pamphlet, *The NDP — The Marxist View*, Vanguard Publications makes available three major articles, reprinted from *Labor Challenge*, which provide a useful introduction to the revolutionary Marxist analysis of the New Democratic Party.

For activists in the student or women's liberation movements in search of avenues by which their struggles can be linked to those of the working class, this pamphlet offers important advice. For NDP activists fighting to make the party more responsive to workers' needs, confronting over and over again the hostility of the NDP brass to class-struggle policies, *The NDP — The Marxist View* provides a welcome explanation of the barrier to socialism constituted by the NDP leadership, and the inadequacy of the party as an instrument for socialist victory. Moreover, it provides a guide to action in bringing that lesson to the working masses in the course of their struggles against capitalism.

The pamphlet includes excerpts from the Political Resolution adopted by the April 1973 convention of the League for Socialist Action / Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière. The excerpts encompass a description of the LSA's orientation to the NDP, a capsule analysis of the experience of revolutionists with the Waffle movement in the NDP, and a projection of the overall tasks of revolutionary socialists in the NDP in the next period.

Publication of these excerpts in the July 23, 1973 *Labor Challenge* sparked an exchange with Ontario NDP provincial secretary, Gordon Vichert. In a letter to *Labor Challenge* editor George Addison, Vichert announced that steps were being taken to expel Addison from the NDP on the grounds of his revolutionary views. Vichert's letter, and a reply by Dick Fidler, a member of the LSA / LSO Political Committee and a frequent contributor to *Labor Challenge*, are included in the pamphlet.

The final article included in the pamphlet is based on a speech by Ross Dowson, now chairman of the LSA / LSO, to the St. George (Toronto) NDP riding association, defining in a popular manner, the Trotskyist attitude to the NDP. Particularly noteworthy is Dowson's hard-hitting attack on "the parliamentary road to socialism."

"The New Democratic Party is a labor party," notes the LSA / LSO Political Resolution, "both in terms of its close and organic ties to the organized labor movement of English Canada, and because of its character as the sole political mass organization of the working class."

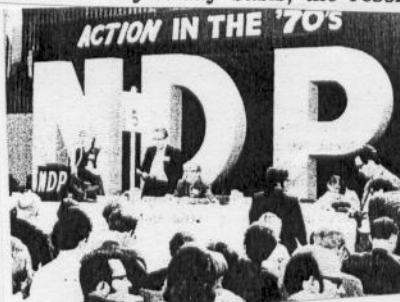
Providing, as it does, an avenue for political action independent of big business and its parties, the NDP receives the critical support of revolutionary Marxists. In his reply to Gordon Vichert, Dick Fidler defends the right of all those who support the principle of independent labor political action to membership in the NDP. "We work to strengthen the party's labor base, urging trade unions to affiliate,

signing working people into the party and urging them to help build it," he explains.

Opposition to the NDP guarantees its proponents sectarian isolation from the mass of working people. The influence of the Communist party in the working class has been reduced in large measure, the pamphlet points out, because of the Stalinists' consistent opposition to independent labor political action through the NDP. Yet other tendencies on the left — most recently the Waffle — repeat the Stalinists' error in their opposition to the labor party.

Revolutionists support the NDP, the pamphlet explains, despite the labor party's reformist program and leadership. As the Political Resolution describes it, "This leadership's outlook is one of gradual, piecemeal, parliamentary reform of capitalism, combined with readiness to rally to the defense of Canadian capitalism against any radical challenge . . ."

While the NDP leadership is not incapable of far-reaching action to defend its social base, it takes such action only hesitantly, falteringly, and under the massive pressure of the ranks. On a day-to-day basis, the resolution argues,



"the reformist program of the NDP stands in constant contradiction to the fundamental needs of the class, which demand mass anticapitalist action, guided by a class-struggle perspective and a socialist program aimed not at the reform of capitalism but at its overthrow."

Hence, the ranks of the labor movement are inevitably thrown into conflict with their social-democratic misleaders. As the radicalization broadens and deepens within the working class, posing and promoting the necessity of an alternative, revolutionary leadership, it will be sharply reflected within the NDP.

In that recognition, revolutionists "join the NDP and intervene in it, in order to go through the experience of struggle against reformism in the NDP along with the working class, to participate in the battles and political differentiation which takes place within the NDP, to promote the building of a class-struggle caucus, and win forces to the revolutionary vanguard organization."

The NDP cannot be transformed into the party of the Canadian revolution. To the contrary, the revolutionary party "will be built in the struggle against the reformism of the NDP and the trade-union leadership — a struggle which now unfolds in and around the NDP, and which will continue in the coming period to maintain the NDP as its frame of reference."

The lessons contained in *The NDP — The Marxist View*, reflecting the long experience of the League for Socialist Action, are indispensable for the effective intervention of revolutionists in the class struggle as it unfolds in Canada in the next period.

— RAY WARDEN

Socialist's membership affirmed

B.C. NDP rejects expulsion attempt

by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER — Striking an important blow for democracy in the New Democratic Party, the B.C. NDP provincial council has turned back an attempt to expel a socialist from membership. Meeting Feb. 2-3 in Nanaimo, the provincial council voted overwhelmingly to affirm the membership of Wendy Stevenson, who the party brass had been attempting to expel.

Stevenson is a member of the Vancouver-Little Mountain NDP club, a leading activist in the women's liberation movement, and an outspoken critic of many of the policies of the NDP government — particularly its failure to implement party policy on labor and women's rights. She is also a member of the League for Socialist Action.

This landmark action by the council came after a three-month fight by Stevenson and her supporters within the NDP to turn back the expulsion attempt.

On Nov. 26, 1973, Stevenson received her NDP membership card. But in the same mail also came a letter from former NDP provincial secretary Hans Brown, who told her that she had "no status" in the party. Brown alleged that she had a "longstanding and existing membership in another political party," and returned her membership fee.

Refusing to accept this undemocratic expulsion, Stevenson returned the membership fee to the provincial executive. In an accompanying letter, she corrected Brown's assertion that she had "only recently arrived ... from Ontario" (where she had been denied membership in the NDP in the mid-

1960s). Stevenson pointed out that she had been an active member of the Alberta NDP between 1968 and 1972, and a delegate to the 1971 Alberta NDP convention. She requested that the executive use its constitutional power to affirm her membership and reject Brown's arbitrary action.

But instead of acting on Stevenson's suggestion, the executive referred the question to provincial council, proposing that discussion of Stevenson's membership "be preceded by a discussion of guidelines from the table officers as to what constitutes another political party."

Stevenson and supporters of her right to membership in the party conducted a province-wide campaign to inform the NDP membership and affiliated unions of this threat to internal party democracy. A petition was circulated, calling on the provincial council "to reaffirm the principle of party democracy" by halting all attempts to deny membership to Stevenson.

A letter addressed to NDP members put the issue squarely, describing the attempt to expel her as "an act against all members of the NDP who are critical of the politics of the leadership and cabinet."

"Only too recently," Stevenson's appeal stated, "the Ontario section of the party was greatly weakened by the purge of Waffle supporters who were critical of the leadership. The same smokescreen used in that purge is being used in my case. The Waffle was declared a political party, and in this way the Waffle was banned and those with Waffle views purged. The only winners were the big-business enemies of our party. I think you will agree with me that purges of dissident members should not be tolerated in the B.C. NDP."

As Stevenson put her case to the B.C. NDP rank-and-file, there were strong indications that large numbers of NDPers did agree with her. Her own riding, Vancouver Little Mountain, supported her right to membership by a large majority. Similar stands were taken by Vancouver Center, Vancouver Point Grey, Vancouver Burrard, North Delta executive, the steering committee of the NDP women's rights committee, the Lower Mainland NDP women's rights committee, as well as many individual NDP members. The women's right committee newsletter *Priorities*, published an appeal by Stevenson and a statement of support by Sandra Boucher, the interim chairwoman of the

Lower Mainland committee.

In an interview with *Labor Challenge* following her victory, Stevenson described the council meeting (which was closed to the press). She said that discussion had centered around the question of her alleged membership in "another political party." Although it was widely known that Premier David Barrett had pushed for her expulsion at the executive meeting, Barrett did not attend the council and government members kept out of the discussion.

According to Stevenson, the 100 persons attending (about 40 observers and 60 delegates and executive members) were treated to a shocking exhibition of witchhunting techniques from Brown and those supporting his position.

The executive circulated a copy of a 1964 provincial council resolution, which declared that "the League for Socialist Action is an organization political in nature and pursuing political action" and that "membership in, support of, active participation in the League for Socialist Action is declared incompatible with membership in the NDP ..."

"A number of delegates objected," Stevenson said. "They pointed out that the resolution was undemocratic and unjust. Some stated that they were supporters of

→ p. 2



Wendy Stevenson photo by Werner Steinmetz

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many of the activities of the LSA, like defense of Chilean political prisoners and defense of Dr. Morgentaler. One delegate, fed up with the witchhunt atmosphere being generated, moved that the LSA not be considered a political party.

"There was heated debate," Stevenson continued. "Delegates told me that it reminded them of the notorious U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee of the Joseph McCarthy period. At one point during the debate, it was revealed that during the 1964 purge of socialists from the B.C. NDP, the leadership had prepared a list of those to be expelled, which at one point included two persons who are today MLAs.

"Delegates wondered why this was happening at this time, and where it would lead. In the morning, a motion to table the resolution on the LSA passed by a large majority. Then a motion instructing the executive to affirm my membership was put to a vote. It carried, approximately 35 to 4."

The vote represents a victory for every member of the NDP. Stevenson explained why.

"The NDP, as a party based on the organized power of the labor movement, must be open to all those who support working class political action independent of the big business parties," she said. "There are, of course, many different views on how to achieve socialism — different programs that emerge in the struggle. The party leadership has no right to ban those ideas that differ from its own. And right now we have to pay particular attention to internal party democracy, when the leadership has all the resources of the government at its disposal to impose its view — often in opposition to convention decisions made by the party rank and file.

"Certainly it is not the NDP membership and the working people of B.C. who stand to gain from stifling democratic discussion within the NDP," Stevenson continued. "This is what could have happened if they had succeeded in expelling me. The question would have been posed: Who is next? Will it be union activists who organized to demand a change in Bill 11 at the NDP convention last November? Or those critical of the government's housing policy or its inaction on women's rights? Or those demanding the government support the United Farm Workers' grape boycott?

"The decision of the provincial council to reject this witchhunt attack can only strengthen the struggle for socialism."



photo by Werner Steinmetz

B.C. NDP CONVENTION, November 1973. 'The NDP, as a party based on the organized power of the labor movement, must be open to all those who support working class political action independent of the big business parties.'

Defend two socialist activists expelled by Ontario NDP!

by GEORGE ADDISON

Two revolutionary socialists, members of the provincial council of the Ontario NDP, have been expelled from the party. Barry Weisleder and Harold Lavender were informed last month that the provincial executive of the party had voted to "withdraw" their memberships, at its Jan. 13 meeting. A letter from provincial secretary Gordon Vichert to Weisleder justified the expulsion on the grounds that the two were members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), which the executive had defined as a "separate political party" in November, 1973. Vichert added that "the executive believes unanimously that the principles of the RMG are not those of the NDP . . ."

Labor Challenge interviewed Weisleder to find out more about the case. Weisleder is a former president of the Ontario Young New Democrats. He was a delegate to Ontario NDP conventions in 1970 and 1972, and to federal NDP conventions in 1971 and 1973. He was a Waffle member from 1969 until the Waffle broke from the NDP in 1972. Weisleder was a member of the provincial NDP

executive in 1972, and a delegate to the provincial council from 1970 until his expulsion.

He and Lavender intend to appeal their expulsions to the next provincial council meeting, in Toronto March 9.

Weisleder argued that "the ideas of the RMG, a revolutionary socialist organization, are legitimate in the Canadian labor movement, and its political arm, the NDP.

"It is totally illegitimate," Weisleder continued, "for the NDP leadership to exclude a working-class political tendency like the RMG. We're not opposed to the expulsion of bourgeois or fascist elements from the workers movement, but as part of this movement, we feel we have the right to put forward our views. And it is our views that the leadership fears."

Whether or not they agree with the political views of the RMG, all New Democrats who support internal democracy within the party should vigorously oppose this move by the ONDP leadership to expel socialist activists from the party.

Nurse faces abortion charges

by LIS ANGUS

On Feb. 4, the head nurse at Dr. Henry Morgentaler's Montreal clinic was charged with conspiring to perform an illegal abortion. She must appear in court at a preliminary hearing Feb. 12.

This is only the latest move by the Quebec Justice Department to victimize Dr. Morgentaler, and those associated with him, for providing safe abortions for thousands of women seeking to exercise their right to control their reproductive lives — a right denied women by Canada's reactionary abortion law.

Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted last November by a Quebec jury on the first of thirteen charges under the federal abortion law. This acquittal was the first victory in the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler and win women's right to abortion.

The Crown is now attempting to reverse that acquittal through an appeal filed in the Quebec Court of Appeals on Jan. 29.

Proceedings are also continuing against Dr. Yvan Macchabee, an associate of Dr. Morgentaler's. His preliminary hearing will continue on Feb. 12. At that time, the Crown must demonstrate to the court that it has enough evidence to proceed with a trial.



photo by Jeff White

'DROP THE CHARGES' against Dr. Morgentaler was demand of this Toronto demonstration, Oct. 27, 1973. Tribunal in Ottawa March 9 will build defense campaign for victims of restrictive law, and demand its repeal.

The cross-country campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler and all other victims of the abortion law is moving actively to build public support across the country. The most important activity of this campaign at this time is the March 9 Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, to be held in Ottawa. This action will bring together supporters of women's right to abortion from across Canada and Quebec, to indict the federal government in its upholding of the restrictive, anti-woman abortion laws, and to demand that all charges against Dr. Morgentaler and other victims be dropped, and that the abortion law be repealed.

Defense committees across the country are mobilizing support for the Tribunal, and are raising funds to help bring women from every part of Canada and Quebec to participate in this action. The defense committee in Winnipeg has already signed up 40 women who want to travel the 1,500 miles to take part in the Ottawa Tribunal.

The participation of women from Quebec — who suffer the most from the conditions of the abortion law, and who have carried the most militant campaign for repeal of that law and for defense of Dr. Morgentaler — will be an important part of the Tribunal. Proceedings will be simultaneously translated into English and French to enable all to participate fully.

Morgentaler defense committees have been established on most major university campuses to build support for the campaign and the Tribunal among students. The Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) has endorsed the Tribunal and is writing to all campus student councils, encouraging them to do likewise and to provide funds to help students attend the Tribunal.

Support has also been mobilized in the

NDP: The Ontario NDP provincial council recently endorsed the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler, as have a number of riding associations. The NDP, which supports repeal of the abortion law, has a big responsibility to act to help women win this struggle.

The Tribunal takes place the day after

Vancouver action planned

Vancouver supporters of Dr. Morgentaler and of women's right to abortion will hold a big send-off press conference on March 7 to mark the departure of Vancouver participants in the Ottawa Tribunal. Those who are unable to travel to Ottawa will demonstrate their solidarity on March 9 with a march through downtown Vancouver to the Court House, beginning at 2 p.m. The demonstration will demand that all charges against Dr. Morgentaler be dropped and that the restrictive abortion law be repealed. Everyone will be invited to hear a full report on the Tribunal from those who went to Ottawa, at a public meeting on March 21.

International Women's Day. In Toronto, the send-off party for the buses going to Ottawa will be an International Women's Day party; the Tribunal and party are being publicized by the Toronto Women's Place and other feminist groups as part of the activities taking place that weekend to celebrate this day.

Socialists have impact in B.C. campus election

by COREEN DOUGLAS
and STUART RUSSELL

VANCOUVER — Running on a program "for a university as an organizing center for social change ... under student, faculty, staff control," the Socialist Campaign in the elections for the executive of the Alma Mater Society at the University of British Columbia, received between 5 and 6 percent of the vote. Candidates for the socialist slate were Coreen Douglas for president, Stuart Russell for vice-president and Kathleen Ball for external-affairs officer.

Running against four other slates, the

Socialist Campaign received a good hearing from UBC students. Slate supporters distributed 2,000 leaflets, 300 copies of a Young Socialist brief to the NDP provincial government's Committee on University Governance, and put up 400 posters. Socialist candidates spoke to more than 500 students at a series of meetings.

Only 15 percent of those eligible turned out to vote. The right-wing "students Coalition" slate, that has dominated the AMS executive

for the past two-and-one-half years, was elected.

The Socialist Campaign used the opportunity afforded by the election campaign to educate UBC students on the nature of the university, and popularize the socialist solution to the crisis in education. To the proposals of the provincial government's commissioner of education, John Bremer (recently fired by the Barrett government), who called only for modest re-structuring of the governing bodies of the universities, the Socialist Campaign called for the mobilization of students to transform the university from an institution that serves the interests of capitalism to a university that is an organizing center for social change.

The Socialist Campaign was alone in putting forward this revolutionary alternative in the elections. A slate calling itself the "Progressive Student Alliance," initiated by the Maoist Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), proposed "working for the principle of ... equal voice for students with faculty, staff and administration." The logic of this is that students should be working alongside the "captains of industry" that Bremer says dominate the Boards of Governors, and thus the administrations of the universities.

The Socialist Campaign also used the election to demand an end to discrimination of women at UBC, and to defend Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who faces criminal charges under Canada's repressive abortion law.

In addition, the Socialist candidates publicized the plight of Chilean refugees who the Canadian government is preventing from immigrating into Canada. The Socialist Campaign leaflet called on the university to "offer teaching positions at UBC to Chilean academics persecuted by the junta; open the campus to Chilean student refugees; make UBC an organizing center to spread the truth about the repression against the Chilean people!"



STUART RUSSELL, COREEN DOUGLAS, AND KATHLEEN BALL, Socialist candidates for UBC Alma Mater Society executive, called for making university an organizing center for social change.

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Tribunal March 9

GOV'T PRESSES ATTACK ON RIGHT TO ABORTION



by LIS ANGUS

The latest in a series of attacks on supporters of women's right to abortion was the arrest of a respected Montreal gynecologist, Dr. Tanguay, at his office on Thursday, Feb. 21. He was held in jail until the next day, when eight charges of performing illegal abortions, allegedly taking place during the years 1972 to 1974, were laid against him.

Eight woman patients, waiting for routine gynecological examinations, were also taken into custody and later released.

Dr. Tanguay will be arraigned in a Montreal court on Feb. 27, at which time the date for his preliminary hearing will be set.

This arrest followed shortly on the heels of the Feb.

13 police raid on the office and home of Dr. Henry Morgentaler. His private papers were seized and he was told that he owed \$350,000 in back income taxes.

Dr. Morgentaler has denied any tax evasion on his part, and points to this charge as part of the continued harrassment of him and some of his colleagues by the Crown in an attempt to silence them and prevent them from assisting women seeking safe abortions.

Dr. Morgentaler was acquitted last November by a Quebec jury on the first of 13 charges against him under the federal abortion law. This acquittal was an important initial victory in the cross-country fight to defend him and win women's right to safe, legal abortion. However, the Crown has filed before the Quebec Court of Appeals in an attempt to overturn this

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Solzhenitsyn in exile

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acquittal; the court has not yet ruled on this appeal. The government also succeeded last week in getting

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a preferred indictment against Dr. Yvan Macchabee, a colleague of Dr. Morgentaler, on four charges of performing illegal abortions and one charge of resisting arrest. This means that his preliminary hearing will not continue; the case will go directly to

trial in the Superior Court of Quebec. The trial date has not yet been set.

Dr. Morgentaler's head nurse, Joanne Cornax, was charged on Feb. 4 with conspiracy to perform an illegal abortion in connection with Dr. Macchabee's case. This charge will come up for hearing in April.

These arrests and charges are part of a continuing attack by the Canadian government on women's right to abortion and on the women's movement which is leading the struggle to win this right.

Supporters of women's rights across the country are building a campaign in defense of Dr. Morgentaler and all others victimized under Canada's abortion law. A highlight of this campaign will be the Abortion Tribunal taking place on March 9 in Ottawa at the Ottawa Technical High School, beginning at 9:30 a.m.

The tribunal will hear the testimony of women from across the country of their suffering under the inhuman abortion law, as well as testimony by Dr. Morgentaler, Dr. Macchabee and others who have particular experiences in relation to the abortion law.

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...New arrests under abortion law

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The Tribunal will indict the Canadian government and its henchmen for maintaining and enforcing this law — a law which is responsible for the agony of countless women and which is now being used to victimize individuals who sought to help women exercise their right to abortion.

NDP M.P. Grace MacInnis will testify on her long struggle in the House of Commons to get the abortion law repealed. She will also introduce the section of testimony by women who have had legal abortions under the present laws, and the difficulties and humiliations they have encountered.

Another of the women testifying will be Petra Hart, who was the woman for whom Dr. Morgentaler performed an abortion on the Canada-wide T.V. documentary W5 last May.

An important part of the Tribunal will be testimony by women from Quebec, who suffer most from the inequities of the federal abortion law and who have carried a militant struggle against that law. All the Tribunal

proceedings will be simultaneously translated into English and French, to allow all those attending to participate fully.

The Tribunal will culminate in a demonstration through downtown Ottawa to Parliament Hill to present the indictment to those responsible for the crimes against Canadian women which the abortion law perpetuates.

Morgentaler replies to tax charge

The following statement was released by Dr. Henry Morgentaler Feb. 15, following a raid on his Montreal clinic by Quebec tax inspectors two days earlier.

In spite of wide publicity and accusations from official Quebec government quarters that I have been found guilty of tax evasion, I have not to date received an official accusation or judgement. All I did receive was a letter handed to me Feb. 13 at 4:00 p.m., requesting immediate payment of about \$350,000 in back taxes, presumably owing. There is apparently a judgement to that effect.

I have never been accused of wrongdoing or notified of any offence. Never have I been able to face my accusers. I have apparently been convicted by arbitrary administrative decision under a Quebec law which seems in clear violation of fundamental principles of justice, civil

liberties and human rights in a democratic society. My office and private home have been searched. Private correspondence, diaries and many other papers have been seized. My bank accounts and all assets have been frozen by the Quebec government.

I protest strongly against this continuing persecution. I have not violated any fiscal laws. I do not owe one dollar to the Quebec government and I have always declared my income in full, including income from abortions which the Quebec government has only been too happy to collect while prosecuting me at the same time. My attorneys have been instructed to take every step possible to challenge this violation of justice.

I shall continue to fight for repeal of the unjust and cruel abortion laws in Canada and will moreover continue to provide safe abortions for women in need.



Dr. Henry Morgentaler



SECRETARIES DEMONSTRATE on Parliament Hill, Feb. 14.

Ottawa secretaries march

by JOE YOUNG

OTTAWA — Two thousand angry civil service secretaries converged on Parliament Hill Feb. 14, in the bitter cold, to protest arbitrary "rug-ranking" and "red-circling" procedures, as well as dragging contract negotiations.

The protest was organized by the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) and the Association of Public Service Secretaries. With an eye to the ironic, Valentines Day was chosen as the day for the march.

Rug-ranking is a procedure whereby a secretary's pay and ability is decided according to the rank and pay of the man she works for. Red-circling is a method of job declassification which freezes a workers' pay.

The government's response has been to defend the discrimination faced by secretaries. Treasury Board President C.M. Drury told a delegation of secretaries last July: "A man at a certain level is entitled to a certain size desk, bookcase, typewriter, and secretary. I don't like to refer to the girl as a chattel, but in fact, she comes along the same way." After the demonstration Labor

minister John Munro, who is the minister responsible for the status of women, could only say that a questionnaire would be circulated to find out what the situation is! The attitude of the government was aptly demonstrated when the Treasury Board ordered that all employees absent on the march without permission would have their pay docked.

Women workers have always been most exploited workers in the civil service. Some 80 percent of 41,000 women civil servants hold administrative support jobs which are the lowest paying in the government. In 1972, 90 percent of women working for the public service earned less than \$8,500 a year, while only one tenth of 1 percent earned more than \$23,000.

The mood of the demonstrators was very militant. They chanted "We want Bud," "Bud is the bug in the rug" ("Bud" is Treasury Board president C.M. Drury), "Rug ranking must go or we will," and "We want a raise."

Dr. Katherine Cooke, chairwoman of the National Advisory Council on the Status of Women was cheered when she denounced

rug-ranking. "In practical terms," she said "It is a stupid, stupid, procedure. We keep hearing all this talk about management objectives and what do we end up with but classifying secretaries in the same fashion as the boss's furniture." PSAC vice-president William Doherty pledged full support. NDP House Leader Stanley Knowles, declared: "We completely agree that rug-ranking is unjust and unfair. We also agree that it is criminal the amount of time the Treasury Board takes to complete negotiations."

A Feb. 15 *Toronto Star* editorial advocated that secretaries vote to change things in the next election rather than demonstrate: "Voting is not only more comfortable than parading in the sub-zero cold; it's a whole lot more effective." In this way the *Star* is trying to divert the radicalization which is developing among women civil servants into safe channels. Following the lead of Ontario teachers who turned back an attempt to deny them the right to resign by demonstrating 40,000 strong, women civil servants have to rely on their independent strength in mass action to end the discrimination they suffer.

International Women's Day

March 8 is International Women's Day, a day of solidarity with the worldwide struggle of women for their liberation.

Since 1910, when the day was declared an international holiday by a congress of socialist women in Copenhagen, it has been commemorated as a day of rededication to the struggle of women against their oppression. The most spectacular celebration occurred in Petrograd in 1917, when woman textile workers walked out of their factories to demonstrate, sparking the Russian revolution.

On International Women's Day, 1974, we see a continuation of the radicalization of women which has mushroomed around the world in the past few years — expressed in the many different struggles women are taking up, the varied forms of organizations women are initiating to help them carry these struggles forward, and in the widespread support and interest in feminist ideas far beyond the organized feminist movement itself.

Today's feminist movement challenges all the basic assumptions of capitalist society concerning women — from the myth of the "natural inferiority" of women, to the traditional role of women in the nuclear family.

This new feminist movement, part of a general radicalization of the oppressed and exploited around the world, emerges out of the sharpening contradictions of capitalism. It is becoming obvious to increasing numbers of women that the material means necessary to free them from their subjugation now exist, yet they are still bound to the role of wife and childbearer, channeled into low-paying jobs, and denied control over the most elementary aspects of their lives.

And women, angry at this injustice, are fighting vigorously to regain control of their lives. From the fight of the "Three Marias" (three Portuguese feminist writers arrested under Portuguese censorship laws for publishing a book on women's liberation — "an outrage to public morals and good customer"); to the Irish women's fight for the right to contraception; to the struggle of Italian women for the right to divorce, the struggle is growing.

Even in the colonial world, where women are most severely oppressed, courageous women have taken up the fight. Today the Palestinian and Vietnamese women are symbols of the national liberation struggle.

In the bureaucratized workers states too, like the USSR and Eastern Europe, women are becoming conscious of how far they still are from the liberation their revolutionary foremothers fought for; they are beginning to question why they are still burdened with the obligations of housework and childrearing, why they are still predominantly in the lower-paying jobs, why they are still able to take only a limited part in the public and political life of their countries.

Throughout the world, many women are coming to the conclusion that fundamental social changes are necessary to improve their lives — that only a socialist society can provide the basis for women's liberation. Thus, more and more women are taking their place in the forefront of the socialist movement.

In Canada, there has been a general increase in struggles by women for their rights. Child care, equal pay and the right to abortion have become major

political issues, with women organizing in towns and cities across the country to win these demands. Within the trade union movement, women's rights issues are becoming more important; women's caucuses have been formed in some unions, and equal pay for women has been a major demand in a number of recent strikes. In the NDP, Canada's labor party, there are now continuing women's caucuses in at least four provinces; and women's caucuses at NDP conventions have become increasingly insistent in demanding that the NDP use its resources to fight for women's rights.

Women in Quebec, who have suffered from the most backward and repressive laws and customs in the country, are also moving into action. Women played a large role in the 1972 public-service strike, and the increasing militancy of Quebec women has pressured all major trade unions in the province to have major discussions on women's rights. The fight for repeal of Canada's restrictive abortion laws has found its most militant and active support in Quebec, particularly

around the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler.

The government of Canada is almost totally unresponsive to the needs of women. The major recommendations of the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women have not been implemented. Token committees and councils on the status of women have been set up, and a few minor changes thrown as a sop to women. But women are still paid considerably less than men; child care facilities are still completely inadequate; the laws and regulations of this country still systematically discriminate against women. Despite a vigorous four-year campaign by thousands of women across the country for repeal of Canada's reactionary abortion law, and the fact that a majority of Canadians support women's right to choose abortion, the government has point-blank refused to take any action towards wiping this law from the books.

On the contrary: it is around the fight to legalize abortion that the government has chosen to launch a severe assault on women's rights. Over the past few months, three doctors and a nurse have been arrested in Montreal for allegedly performing illegal abortions: Drs. Morgentaler, Macchabee and Tanguay, and nurse Joanne Cornax. Many of their patients and associates have also been harrassed by the Quebec police. With these arrests — several of which have occurred in recent weeks — the government hopes to deter those who wish to assist women in need by making medically safe abortions available to them. The government's intention is to set back the struggle for women's right to abortion.

On International Women's Day, 1974, the most important task for Canadian feminists is to reply to this attack by the government on the women's movement. International Women's Day was born out of women's struggles; we commemorate it best not only by remembering past struggles, but by carrying these struggles forward to win new victories for women. What better way to strike a blow for women — and a blow against women's oppressors — than by participating in the Ottawa Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler on March 8!

1,000 march on B.C. legislature

Teachers fight cutbacks

About 1,000 teachers from the Surrey Teachers Association (STA) boarded buses and ferries for a march on the B.C. legislative buildings in Victoria Feb. 15. They were protesting government cutbacks in education spending, announced in the NDP government's budget. Demonstrators booed Education minister Eileen Dailly, when she addressed the teachers at the legislature.

The 1,350-member STA, part of the B.C. Teachers Federation (BCTF) closed schools in the Lower Mainland community the day of the demonstration.

In a press conference prior to the demonstration, BCTF president James MacFarlan accused Premier David Barrett of "short-changing" B.C. teachers and students who backed the NDP in the 1972 election.

This action follows by about two months the massive one-day strike and demonstrations by Ontario teachers against legislation introduced by the Conservative government. Labor Challenge reported that development in depth.

The following interview with a militant member of the STA was obtained by West Coast Labor Challenge correspondent John Steele.



TEACHERS MARCH ON VICTORIA. 1,000 Surrey teachers protest at B.C. legislature, demanding end to education spending cutbacks.

Question. Why did the STA march on Victoria?

Answer. It was in response to the budget passed by the Surrey School Board, which reduced the budget by 10 percent, or four million dollars. Unless these cutbacks are reversed, it will mean the loss of many jobs, materials and services in Surrey schools.

Q. Was this the first time Surrey teachers have demonstrated in Victoria?

A. Yes, it was an unprecedented action.

Q. How was the decision made? Were there other suggestions for action?

A. The decision was made after two large meetings held by the STA and attended by nearly the entire membership. Only two persons voted against it. Another proposal which came forward the night before the march to begin a series of rotating strikes following the demonstration, was narrowly defeated. A proposal from the STA executive to carry a work-to-rule campaign after the demonstration was also defeated. The teachers realized that this kind of campaign would hit at the students rather than the board and the government which is respon-

sible for cutting the budget.

Q. What role did the school board play in this?

A. The Surrey and Chilliwack boards to my knowledge were the only boards to bow to the pressure from Victoria. After the boards received a directive from the government to reduce their budgets, most of them increased them to meet their increased needs. The Surrey board buckled and turned us down, then refused to accompany us to Victoria.

Q. What happened on the demonstration? What was the mood?

A. The mood was simply tremendous. There were at least 1,000 teachers and maybe more.

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On the ferry over to Victoria, placards and banners were made. Some said "We want our Daily Bread"; "You can spare it, Barrett," referring to the surplus Barrett says in in the treasury. Other signs said "From Robin Hood to Jack the Ripper" (Barrett said the budget was a "Robin Hood budget," and "We won't grin and Barrett." There were songs made up for the occasion which we sang on the lawn in front of the legislature for over an hour waiting to hear from the Education minister. When it was reported that the STA executive was satisfied with vague promises of further funds, many teachers were not very happy. We haven't seen the end to the militancy of the STA.

Q. The government says it's a question of money — or the lack of it. Where do you think it should come from?

A. They want us to think that to pay more for education means higher taxes for working people. The government the teachers helped to elect should get the money from those who have it — the big corporations. If Barrett's budget is supposed to be a "Robin Hood" budget, then he should take over big businesses like MacMillan-Bloedel and Cominco, and use their record profits for social services and education!

Q. Have you received support from students?

A. At the meeting the night the decision was taken to go to Victoria, a representative from the Surrey Students Association was present. He spoke, urging the teachers to defeat the work-to-rule motion, and supporting the call for strike. He promised that students would be out to support the teachers and help spread information on why this action was necessary. A few students came to Victoria; there wasn't time to mobilize more.

Q. The teachers were a big force behind the

election of the NDP in 1972. Yet the march was directed against the NDP government. How do you explain that?

A. In the course of our meetings, many teachers commented on the effort they made to defeat the Socred government, because of their anti-educational policy. But they also were determined not to let education sink to its former low level under the Socreds. The education budget has shrunk under the NDP government, in contradiction to their election promises. When we got to Victoria we were addressed by the provincial secretary Ernie Hall, the Surrey MLA. He gave vague promises about doing something. Wes Janzen the former president of the BCTF and the Canadian Teachers Federation leapt up on the stage. He said he was a member of the NDP and worked hard all his life for the NDP and felt he was being shafted by the NDP. He got a standing ovation from the teachers. We are not going to tolerate cutbacks just because they are being introduced by the NDP government — the government we helped elect.

Q. Why did the teachers boo Education minister Dailly?

A. She was booed because she refused to say directly that she would instruct the Surrey School Board to restore the budget. She said there would be some supplementary funds, but nothing further. That was not satisfactory.

Q. Representatives from the Canadian Union of Public Employees were on the demonstration. What is the significance of this?

A. Along with the student representatives, this was very important. To defeat the cutbacks, we are going to need help from both

students and the support staff who are members of CUPE. Right now, maintenance workers in the Operating Engineers union are showing their strength by closing schools to get a decent pay raise. There is a lot we can learn from these unions — and a lot we can accomplish together.

Q. What is going to happen now? What should the BCTF be doing?

A. On the first school day after the march, the STA executive sent letters and information packages home with all the students, to explain to parents what the struggle is all about. We have also invited residents of Surrey to attend mass public meetings the STA is organizing to explain the teachers' position. I think this is a positive step.

The STA should also try to get the support of the labor movement as a whole through the B.C. Federation of Labor and local NDP ridings. And it is important to keep in touch with the students who will play a key role if we have to go out on strike.

The BCTF leadership should extend the campaign of the STA into a massive province-wide campaign to force the government to change its course before the budgets are finalized on April 20.

Q. Towards the end of March, the annual general meeting of the BCTF will take place. What do you think some of the major issues should be?

A. We have a big fight to launch against the government, for adequate spending and for decent working conditions. That means that teachers have to win the same rights as other workers. We need the right to strike. Planning a campaign against the cutbacks, and for the right to strike are the main challenges for the general meeting. Another decision that should be made is to affiliate to the B.C. Federation of Labour.

Challenges for Alberta NDP convention

by RICHARD THOMPSON

EDMONTON — At its March 8-10 convention, the Alberta NDP faces big challenges. While the party is quite weak, holding only one seat in the legislature, working people in this province face spiralling inflation, anti-labor injunctions and cutbacks in the province's social services. Convention delegates are faced with the questions: What should the NDP be doing? How can the party best fight for the needs of workers, women, youth and native people, and pose itself as a clear alternative to bosses' parties.

The perspective the leadership offers convention delegates is to "elect an NDP government." But this only glosses over the need to begin fighting now for the real needs of working people. The best way to build the NDP as an effective alternative to the parties of big business is to adopt a program of action — to lead working people in struggles against the government and bosses.

The founding of a women's caucus in the Alberta NDP in December shows the need for such an approach. The caucus is planning to meet during the convention to prepare resolutions on women's rights. The NDP must

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adopt an action-oriented program for women's liberation.

The convention is meeting at the same time as the cross-country Tribunal, being held in Ottawa to defend Dr. Morgentaler and for repeal of Canada's anti-abortion laws. An emergency resolution in support of the aims of the Tribunal will be presented to the convention. The importance of this motion is driven home by the introduction of private members bill 220 into the Alberta legislature. This reactionary bill would remove abortion from Alberta's health insurance plan. The Women's Caucus has already called on NDP leader Grant Notley to speak out against this bill in the legislature.

The question of energy policy could be one of the most hotly-debated questions at the convention. Ninety percent of Canada's oil is in Alberta, yet Alberta workers have in no way escaped the effects of the so-called energy crisis — spiralling inflation and cuts in real income. The policies of the Lougheed government give the international oil barons free reign in the province. The tariffs imposed on oil have done nothing to benefit the people

of Alberta. While the NDP has opposed some of the dealings of the Conservative government, they have failed to pose a serious alternative to control of energy by the international oil cartel.

Instead of endless debates over tariff policy and federal-provincial jurisdiction, the NDP must ask: Whose oil is it, and who should control it? The NDP should demand that the books of the oil corporations be opened for public inspection. Recent polls show that a large majority of NDP supporters favor nationalizing energy resources. Public ownership of the resources industries, under workers control, is the only basis for planned development of Alberta's energy for the benefit of both Albertans and working people across Canada.

Over the past year, the Lougheed government has increased its attacks on workers' wages. On top of what inflation has robbed from paycheques, the government has made it more difficult for unions to win strikes. Since the Tories redrafted Alberta's anti-labor legislation last year, there has been

injunction after injunction against strikes in the province. Some public service workers, prohibited from striking altogether, have suffered wage cuts; many unions have been forced to accept inadequate contracts because of curbs on picketing and threats of legal attack.

Instead of undertaking a campaign to remove all restrictions to the right to strike, the NDP and Alberta Federation of Labour leaderships have accepted the basic framework of the Tory anti-labor laws, pushing for amendments. Delegates to the NDP convention should adopt resolutions calling for an action campaign for the unrestricted right to strike for all Alberta workers.

At this writing, there is only one open caucus — the women's caucus — organized at this convention. But this does not mean that delegates should accept the policies of the leadership or its narrow electoral perspective. Rather, the fight for socialist policies and action campaigns can lay the basis for the building of a viable left wing in the Alberta NDP.

Gov't hides behind 'national security'

Canada's secret police

by RAY WARDEN

A flurry of scandal, then almost complete silence. That was the reaction of Canada's highly-monopolized media to the revelations contained in the CBC's hour-long Jan. 9 television expose, "The Fifth Estate — The Espionage Establishment."

That the kept press hushed up the story comes as no surprise. After all, Canada's "national security" was at stake: "national security" being the euphemism for the domestic and international intrigue engaged in by Canada's ruling class.

"Participation in this program," the CBC informed its viewers, "was restricted by the Official Secrets Act."

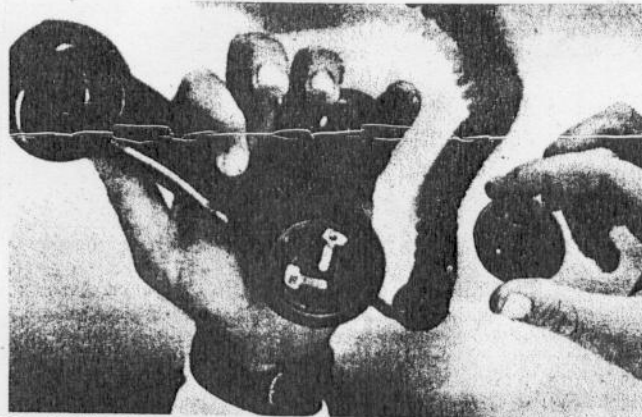
"I don't want to comment on questions of security," Prime Minister Trudeau told reporters after the show. "It's much too delicate. The danger is that you will drag out confidences from me and I'll say things that I'll regret."

In the name of "security," Canadian governments have erected an extensive and well-funded network of agencies dedicated to providing intelligence on those movements which capitalism sees as a threat to its interests, whether at home, or abroad.

Canada's secret political police, the Security and Intelligence branch of the RCMP (S and I) is assigned the task of collecting and analyzing data on the activities of all the movements for social change. Through wiretaps, electronic surveillance, and the use of undercover agents, S and I spys on and harasses student activists, trade-union militants, American draft resisters in Canada, radical professors, Quebec independentists, immigrants and socialist organizations. S and I photographers can be seen casually snapping pictures on the edge of nearly any demonstration adding to the RCMP's exhaustive photo-file of "subversives."

The RCMP maintains close relations with other police forces throughout the capitalist world. Its commissioner, William Higgitt, is the current head of the international police organization, Interpol, and has access to all its secret files.

The Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group, (PSPAG), set up by the government in the wake of the October 1970 "War Measures Crisis" in Quebec, has unlimited access to the facilities of the RCMP, and intelligence agencies operating through the armed forces, the Department of National Defense and the External Affairs department. With a \$200,000 budget the PSPAG collates and analyzes the material



TELEPHONE BUGGING DEVICE. Canada operates network of secret spying operations directed against left.

collected by other agencies and reports directly to Solicitor General Warren Allmand, and the cabinet Committee on Security.

The PSPAG plays a central coordinating role among Canadian intelligence agencies. "If there's going to be a demonstration," says its head, Robert Bourne, "we make sure that all the people who should know, do know."

Watergate tactics

The same Watergate tactics employed against radical movements by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States are the stock and trade of Canada's political police. Last April, Conservative MP Erik Nielsen placed 29 questions before the House of Commons inquiring about the activities of the PSPAG.

Nielsen's questions implied, among other things, that the PSPAG had been involved, at least indirectly, in investigations of radicals on universities, trade union militants, and even opposition MPs. He alleged that the agency had suggested a scheme whereby all the telephones in Ottawa could be kept under surveillance.

In his reply, the Prime Minister used the words, "It is not considered in the public interest for reasons of national security to disclose . . .," or words similar, 18 times.

As Nielsen commented: "My question have been answered by the non-answers."

The work of the political police is supplemented by the "anti-subversive squads" operating through provincial and major municipal police forces, and by the score of

private police agencies — company police, and agencies operating as free-lance scab herders and agents provocateurs in strike situations.

Last April, NDP MP Ed Broadbent revealed in the House of Commons, that H.C. Draper, assistant RCMP commissioner, and Robert Bourne, head of the PSPAG, addressed a meeting of the Canadian Society for Industrial Security on the topic "the threat from subversive elements." The discussion at this businessmen's gathering centered, according to Broadbent, on "subversion" within the Canadian labor movement.

Broadbent was prohibited from attending the meeting and his request for copies of the speech was denied. On grounds — what else? — of "national security."

'The Fifth Estate'

The Jan. 9 CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate" revealed the existence of yet another secret spying agency, disguised as the Communications Branch of the National Research Council (CBNRC), established in 1940.

The CBNRC, it was revealed, secretly monitors radio communications between foreign embassies in Ottawa and their respective governments, as well as broadcasts emanating from polar regions of the Soviet Union, and parts of Europe.

Through the secret UKUSA Treaty, the program explained, the world is divided into various regions for the monitoring of radio

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communications by spy agencies in Canada, the USA, Britain and Australia. With a budget estimated in excess of \$5 million, and some 300 employees on its payroll, the CBNRC works hand-in-hand with its American counterpart, the National Security Agency (NSA), and with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

The CIA, notorious for its staging of governmental coups, assassinations, and counterrevolutionary activities throughout



TRUDEAU: 'I don't want to comment on questions of security. It's much too delicate.'

the colonial world, operates under diplomatic cover in Canada through the American embassy in Ottawa. It works in close collaboration with Canada's spying agencies.

John D. Marks, former Staff Assistant to the Director of Intelligence and Research in the U.S. State Department told CBC's viewers: "Canada has been, I guess you would say gracious, in permitting American intelligence to build facilities and place machinery on Canadian soil," particularly, equipment for eavesdropping on Soviet radio communications.

According to Victor L. Marchetti, who formerly occupied various positions in the CIA bureaucracy, "about once a week a truck loaded with material, classified material, would drive up to Canada giving them (Canadian intelligence) the benefit of much of our collection and analysis on mutual adversaries throughout the world."

When the United States broke off diplomatic relations with the Castro government in 1960, CIA agents working under diplomatic cover in the American embassy in

Havana left Cuba. Their spying mission, according to the CBC documentary, was taken over by the Canadians and British, who reported to the American government and the CIA. The question might be raised: What role did Canadian intelligence play, for example, in the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961?

During the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, according to a former NSA intelligence officer interviewed on the program, Canadian monitoring stations in Europe and the Mediterranean transmitted information to U.S. intelligence agencies. The same information, it may be assumed, was relayed to Israel as a Canadian contribution to their war effort. Do Canadian "peace keeping" forces in the Middle East today, act as spies for Israel?

The program corroborated once again, the espionage conducted by Canadian members of the supposedly neutral International Control Commission in Vietnam on behalf of the United States' genocidal war.

The CBC documentary also gave viewers some insight into the methods of Canada's CIA partner in its international, clandestine war against "communism." The program touched on the role of the CIA in toppling the Allende regime in Chile last September, its financing of mercenaries in the Congo leading to the downfall of Patrice Lumumba in 1960, its sponsoring of the 1953 coup which returned the Shah of Iran to his throne, as well as activities of the CIA in the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Greece.

The program documented the campaign of assassination and torture conducted by the CIA through its "Phoenix program" in Vietnam.

CIA aids 'democratic left'

Among other CIA tactics the program revealed was the agency's channelling of funds to organizations of the "democratic left." According to former agency officials interviewed on the program, the CIA participated in the funding of "non-Communist" unions in France and Italy, and gave money to the AFL-CIO in the United States. One former CIA official related his delivering a satchel containing \$75,000 to former United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther.

Similarly, the CIA made contributions to the treasury of the German Social-Democratic party through its leader, now Chancellor, Willy Brandt. The agency did the same "for many similar politicians in Italy and France."

The program did not review, unfortunately, CIA penetration of the "democratic left" in Canada, such as the 1967 revelation that the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) had received funds from a CIA-sponsored foundation.

At that time, CUS abruptly cut off relations with the CIA front, and demanded that the Canadian government protest CIA activity in Canada. The Pearson government pleaded ignorance of the activities of its CIA partner.

Has the CIA secretly channelled funds into other organizations of the "democratic left" in Canada? Into, say, the NDP or the trade-union movement, through the use of some "respectable" front?

The failure of the NDP leaders to wage a consistent fight against government spying operations is a scandal which the ranks of labor will not soon forget. Former CCF leader and NDP "elder statesman" M.J. Coldwell served as one of the commissioners on the 1969 Royal Commission on Security. He participated in the drafting of a report which recommended that government authorities be empowered to open private letters, tap phones and use electronic snooping devices. In fact, the report laid the basis for the founding of the Police and Security Planning and Analysis Group.

T.C. Douglas, then leader of the NDP, endorsed the framework of the report. When it was tabled in parliament he took the opportunity to congratulate the RCMP for its "very excellent service."

The CBC documentary "The Fifth Estate" gave us only a glimpse of the espionage conducted by Canadian spying agencies at home and abroad. The extent of the Canadian "espionage establishment," the depth of its involvement in international banditry along side the American CIA remains uncovered.

Canadian working people must fight for the dismantling of the "espionage establishment," the entire network of spying operations, from S and I to the PSPAG to the CBNRC. The trade-union movement and the NDP must demand that the records of these agencies be opened, that the whole sordid truth about Canadian espionage be revealed.

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Spain: Marxists oppose individual terror

The following statements on the Dec. 20 assassination of Spain's Prime Minister, Carrero Blanco, present the position of the Spanish Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). The first is a statement issued in January by the Political Bureau of the Liga Comunista. The second is from the Liga Comunista journal Combate.

For the point of view of the LCR ETA (VI) (Liga Comunista Revolucionaria Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna — Revolutionary Communist League/Basque Nation and Freedom (Sixth Congress)), the other sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, see Intercontinental Press, January 21, 1974. To receive this issue, send 50 cents to Intercontinental Press, Box 116 Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. The translation of the Liga Comunista statement is by Intercontinental Press.

Statement of Liga Comunista

The assassination of Carrero Blanco on December 20, 1973, by members of the organization ETA (V) can only be characterized as an act of individual terrorism.

Except in conditions of civil war, Marxists are opposed in principle to individual terrorism.

Marxists oppose individual terrorism because it sows illusions among the masses, lowers their level of consciousness, demobilizes them, and reduces them to passivity.

In the last analysis, terrorism springs from the same source as reformism, which it also promotes. Both terrorists and reformists look to changing the capitalist superstructure, either through deals or by bombs, as a substitute for mass action. "A terrorist is a liberal with a bomb in his hand."

At the present time, needless to say, there is no civil war going on in the Spanish state; and terrorism does not promote, but rather has negative effects on, the struggle of the workers and the oppressed masses against the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship.

The LCR/ETA (VI), an organization that claims to be Marxist and Trotskyist, has given total support to the terrorist action carried out by the ETA (V), justifying this with the classical arguments and terminology of petty-bourgeois terrorism: "The disappearance of Carrero Blanco weakens the regime . . ." "accelerates the crisis of the dictatorship . . ." and "will constitute an encouragement to extending the struggle against the dictatorship."

In taking such a position, the LCR/ETA (VI) has clearly broken with the Marxist principles and conceptions regarding terrorism.

In opposition to the position adopted by the

labor Challenge

#46 Mar 1974



photo from Rouge
DEMONSTRATION OF WORKERS' COMMISSIONS demands freedom for imprisoned commission leaders. Assassination of Spanish premier can only dampen mass movement.

LCR/ETA (VI), in opposition to terrorism and reformism, the Liga Comunista as a Marxist organization declares its disagreement with the terrorist act carried out by the ETA (V) and its support for mobilizing the masses in direct action, which was always the line of the revolutionary party led by Lenin and Trotsky and has always been the line of the Fourth International.

Between terrorist action and the arguments of its defenders on the one side and the road of mobilizing the masses for direct, independent action on the other, the difference is not one of opinion or tactics; it is one of principle, of class. Terrorism is a petty-bourgeois method; mass action, a proletarian one.

Against the dictatorship, against the Francoist repression and terror, the Liga Comunista calls for unconditional defense of all people's militants.

'Combate' on Carrero assassination

The following are excerpts from an editorial in Combate published after the assassination of Carrero Blanco. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

We Marxists reject any "moral" judgment of acts such as the assassination of Carrero Blanco. It was Leon Trotsky also who said in *Their Morals and Ours*:

"Is individual terror, for example, permissible or impermissible from the point of view of 'pure morals'? In this abstract form the question does not exist at all for us. Conservative Swiss bourgeois even now

render official praise to the terrorist William Tell."

So, we denounce the vile hypocrisy with which the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen hide their class interests behind allegedly humanitarian scruples against violence "from whatever source."

We Marxists sympathize completely with the just anger of the oppressed against their oppressors, with the anger of the Basque, Irish, and Palestinian terrorists against the national and political oppression suffered by their peoples.

The masses as spectators

Our judgment of terrorist acts, on the other hand, does not depend on the subjective motives or revolutionary intent, but on their relationship to the needs of the mass struggle. In this sense, we consider that the assassination of Carrero Blanco was a clearly negative act from the standpoint of the workers and people's movement.

What were the real effects of the assassination? For Marxists this is the same as asking: What consequences did it have on the developments of mass action? This is what counts. For a group that wants to be effective, this alone is what is worth working for.

The masses, and first of all the workers, have been condemned to the role of spectators. Some may claim that the assassination had positive aspects because of its "popular impact," or the "sympathy" with which the masses viewed the killing of a prominent figure in the hated regime. We will not even discuss the emotional reactions of the people. Such an effect has no relevance when it comes to judging the supposedly positive political results of the action. At best,

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it did not help in any way to promote mass action but rather encouraged passivity on the part of the masses.

What is more, let us suppose that the "popular sympathy" won by the assassination had been a hundred times greater. This would only mean that Marxists would have to make a hundred times greater effort to explain what was wrong with terrorism and discredit it in the eyes of the masses, because it would have a much greater deleterious influence on them. For such an "impact" only sows illusions that later on often bring demoralization that can be capitalized on by legalist reformists.

The Leninist view

It is lamentable to have to note once again what the whole history of the workers movement has shown more than abundantly: "Individual acts of terrorism, clear symptoms of revolutionary indignation though they are, and however natural when employed against the lynch justice of the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lackeys, are in no way fitted to strengthen proletarian discipline and militancy, for they arouse among the masses the illusion that individual acts of terrorism can take the place of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat." (Theses on Tactics," The Communist International: Documents, Vol. 1, p.254.)

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confusion in the ruling circles, depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case, this confusion can only be of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon Ministers, and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men — the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the ministerial bench from the parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it lowers the masses in their consciousness, reconciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes toward the greater avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission."

(Quoted, from an article by Leon Trotsky in a 1911 issue of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical organ of the Austrian Social-Democratic party, in *The Case of Leon Trotsky* p.259. Emphasis in the original.)

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Errors in nationalist schema

Waffle and the energy crisis

by DENNIS MARLON

In most physical sciences, theories can be proved or disproved in controlled laboratory conditions. If a prediction based on a theory is not verified during experimentation, the theory itself falls.

In economics, sociology and politics, however, such controlled verification of theories is impossible. In this area, theories must be tested through actual experience over time. Theories are refuted when strategies and predictions based on them fail to meet the test of events.

In recent months the energy crisis has provided an important test for the conceptions of the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada.

Marxists believe that Canada is an imperialist power, with its own highly-developed capitalist class in control of the Canadian state. The Waffle, on the other hand, believes that Canadian capitalists have totally subordinated themselves to the interests of U.S. imperialism, and therefore cannot pursue objectives that promote the independent development of Canadian industry. Moreover, according to the Waffle, the Canadian state is controlled by the U.S. capitalist class. In the words of one of the Waffle's leaders, Robert Laxer, the Canadian state is "neither colonial nor imperial, but controlled by American corporations—as seniors and Canadian financiers as juniors—a dependent capitalist state in the American empire." (Canada Ltd. — The Political Economy of Dependency, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1973, page 8.)

Applying this analysis to energy resources, the Waffle postulates that the Canadian government — more interested in resource sellouts than the development of Canadian manufacturing — will allow domestic fuel prices to rise above U.S. prices and as a result make Canadian industry less competitive.

"Real sovereignty in deciding a policy for Canadian resources will reside with the U.S. government and American corporations," argues Waffle spokesman James Laxer in his book *The Energy Poker Game — The Politics of the Continental Resources Deal*. A continental energy deal, he believes, "will mark a formal return to colonial status."

More recently, he has predicted that "resource export agreements will mean higher costs in energy and other resources for Canadian industry, and therefore a worsening of the competitive position of Canadian manufacturing." (Canada Ltd., page 144)

In reply to the Waffle view of the ruling class's energy-resources policy, the March 19, 1973 *Labor Challenge* featured a cen-



CANADIAN RULING CLASS uses economic nationalism to require sacrifices from working people. Waffle says nationalism is progressive.

terspread article by Dick Fidler, who presented the Marxist position.

"The Canadian bourgeoisie," Fidler noted, "facing big challenges in a world of shifting trade alliances and increasing competition, is able to use its state power to ease transitions, maintain its holdings and increase its own opportunities."

"Moreover," he continued, "it sees the increasing world demand for resources it sits on as a trump card in its trade bargaining with Washington, not a threat to its own rule. Canada is not a semi-colony like Panama — nor is it about to become one. It would be quite incorrect for socialists to postulate that the Canadian ruling class is incapable of defending its home market and productive base in Canada, where the bulk of its own capital is concentrated."

Prediction not verified

Contrary to James Laxer's prediction, the energy crisis has shown that the Canadian capitalist class is willing to defend the interests of Canadian industry, even in some respects against the desires of the U.S. ruling class and government, and to pursue policies that tend to promote the competitiveness of Canadian industry.

Of course, Ottawa's concern is not with working people, who will bear the brunt of the price increases the government has endorsed for this spring. Rather, the government has taken a number of concrete steps directly beneficial to Canadian big business. Last

September, when the international price of oil began to skyrocket, the government imposed an export tax on all exported oil, and temporarily froze the price of domestic crude. The export tax is being used to subsidize industry east of Ontario which relies on higher-priced imported oil from international markets.

While the government plans to lift the present freeze at the end of March, it intends to keep the price of domestic oil below the international price indefinitely.

In addition, the government is moving to revamp the longterm relationship of Canadian industry to the international oil market by making Canadian industry less reliant on international oil supplies. A pipeline is to be built to Montreal to bring Alberta oil to industry east of Ontario, abandoning the long-standing "Borden line" along the Quebec-Ontario border, whereby Alberta oil supplies Ontario and international oil is imported to Quebec and the Maritimes.

As well, the Canadian government is moving to establish marketing agreements with oil-producing governments. According to the Feb. 13 *Toronto Star*, Energy minister Donald Macdonald stated: "We can't leave ourselves just hanging to the multilateral cause to the end (referring to the Nixon's government's attempt to shape a united alliance against the Arab producing states — D.M.), and then find ourselves left out

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nationally."

'Advantage' in energy crisis?

Rather than selling out energy resources to the detriment of industrialization, the

No shortage in oil profits

Oil corporations in Canada reaped bonanza profits in 1973. Here is a sampling of the profit figures.

COMPANY	PROFITS	PERCENT INCREASE
Shell Canada	\$112,500,000	42%
Imperial Oil	228,000,000	45%
Pacific Petroleum	30,188,000	44%
Gulf Canada	101,700,000	58%

Canadian capitalist class would like to use the abundant oil and gas reserves within Canada's borders to full advantage by keeping the domestic fuel price lower than the international price. "If we play this right, there's no reason why we can't use this self-sufficiency in energy, this self-sufficiency in petroleum," commented Industry, Trade, and Commerce minister Alastair Gillespie Feb. 12, "to give us an edge in industrialization of Canadian industry." To allow oil prices to rise to international levels, he continued, "would be a wonderful way of giving away what should be an advantage."

The energy policy of the Canadian government is a cause of concern within U.S. ruling-class circles. Criticizing the energy policy of the Canadian government, especially the export tax on oil, Senator Lawton Chiles



photo by Jeff White

JAMES LAXER. Waffle leader predicts sellout of Canadian 'national interests.'

guided a resolution through the U.S. Senate criticizing the Canadian policy, and calling for "reciprocal action." Another U.S. senator, Richard Schweiker labelled the Canadian export tax "a gouge" and "un-American."

Although the Nixon administration, with an eye to future energy deals with Canada, opposed the Chiles resolution, Nixon was earlier quoted as saying that the Canadian government "can be pretty tough on us sometimes when they are looking down our throats."

Waffle theory falls

The Waffle's unequivocal predictions about the behavior of the Canadian ruling class with respect to energy resources have not stood the test of time. Moreover, contrary to Waffle prophecies, the Canadian capitalist class is anxious to promote industrialization, using energy resources as a lever.

But Waffle's mistakes do not stop there. Their wrong predictions are based on a wrong theory. Canada is not "a dependent capitalist state in the American empire," as Robert Laxer believes. The Canadian ruling class is capable of acting to defend its home market and productive base in Canada.

The energy crisis has therefore shown the Waffle's basis assumptions to be wrong. The Canadian state has acted, not in the interests of U.S. capital, but as an independent entity, for the benefit of the Canadian capitalist class. Where then, is the "independence struggle" projected by the Waffle?

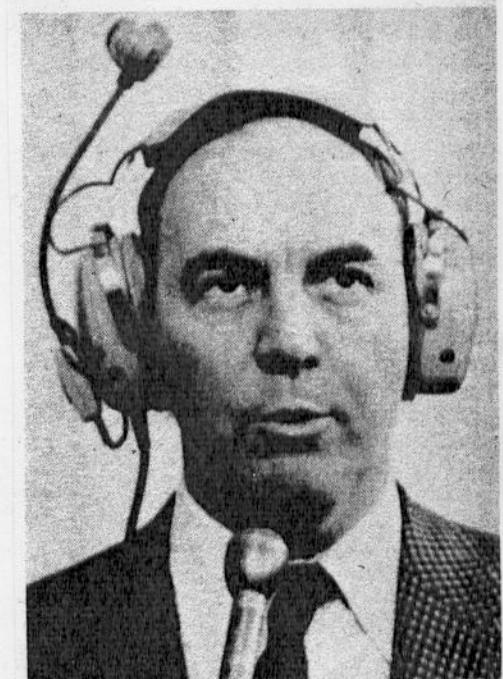
In reality, Canadian nationalism, which the Waffle sees as progressive, has proved to be the rallying cry of the Canadian ruling class, which uses nationalism to mobilize opinion against the Quebecois and native people, or to encourage workers to tighten their belts.

The Waffle's errors make its correct call for nationalization of the oil corporations, less effective, because it is placed within a nationalist framework. The needs of Canadian workers in the energy crisis will be served by organizing against the Canadian capitalists and their state. Grossly underestimating their power, as the Waffle

does, only serves to disarm working people. Moreover, Waffle's nationalist appeal leads credence to the government's energy policies, which are touted as protecting Canada's "national" interests, while failing to meet the real needs of workers. Waffle fails to put the question of the needs of Canadian workers at the center of its policies. It thereby lets the Trudeau government off the hook.

Moreover the Waffle's incorrect conceptions have prompted it to make a serious error by calling for a halt to oil shipments to the United States. Such a policy would tend to set American workers against Canadian workers whereas, we have everything to gain by working jointly to overcome our common problems, united against the capitalist class of both countries.

Isn't it time for members of the Waffle to reassess their views in the light of the energy crisis experience, and break from their incorrect ideas?



ENERGY MINISTER Donald Macdonald. Waffle says he gets his orders from Washington.

LABOR CHALLENGE, March 4, 1974 9

#97 Mar 18, 1974

Tribunal indicts abortion law, defends victims

page 6-7



photo by Macinnis

by LINDA MEISSENHEIMER

More than 500 women and men from across Canada and Quebec participated in the Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, held in Ottawa on Mar. 9. After hearing the testimony of women and doctors victimized under the abortion law, the assembly marched to Parliament Hill to present its indictment of the federal government for upholding, defending and enforcing the anti-abortion law. The Tribunal demanded that all charges against Dr. Morgentaler, Dr. MacHabee, Dr. Tanguay and nurse Cornax be dropped, and that the abortion law be repealed from the Criminal Code.

The Tribunal was held on the weekend of International Women's Day (Mar. 8), a time of commemorating women's struggles around the world. One of the largest actions of the Canadian feminist movement to date, it showed the determined response of women to the government's stepped-up attack on the right to abortion, at present centered in Quebec. It brought together activists from all parts of the country who had built the defense campaign for those charged under the abortion law, and many new supporters of the struggle.

Anna Cushman, coordinator of the Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, opened the Tribunal with an explanation of its aims, an account of the long struggle waged by Canadian women for abortion law repeal, and the latest government moves against

several Montreal doctors and a nurse. Stella Guy, a Montreal birth control and abortion counsellor and activist in the Front Commun pour l'Abrogation des Lois sur l'Avortement, explained the implications of Canada's abortion law.

Testimony was presented by women of different ages, from many parts of the country and very diverse backgrounds. Not a single woman who testified had obtained an abortion without first going through humiliation and degradation. Some went to extraordinary financial expense and risked their very lives trying to carry out their decision.

Women who had sought legal abortions went through tortuous procedures — psychiatrists, lectures on morality, long distance travel to cities with accredited hospitals, or delays necessitating complicated abortion operations.

But it was testimony from women forced to undergo illegal abortions which had the most powerful impact. They described the anguish, fear and danger they experienced in their efforts to get help, and told of incredible tortures inflicted by incompetent quack abortionists.

Their presentations were very moving and very shocking. But perhaps most striking about the Tribunal were the women themselves — severely abused by their ex-

periences, yet powerfully determined to fight until the law is repealed and all women have the right to abortion without the humiliation and danger that they themselves had suffered.

Four doctors presented testimony to the Tribunal. Dr. Sylvia Von Hanna described her own efforts to obtain an abortion years ago when none were legal. In a hard-hitting speech she denied doctors any right whatsoever to decide whether or not women are entitled to abortions.

Her views were echoed by Drs. Morgentaler and MacHabee who testified on their harassment by the Quebec government and police and their legal battles against abortion charges. Their statements met with standing ovations and prolonged applause.

Both doctors, approached by women seeking abortions, had initially respected the law and turned them away. But, they explained, it became impossible to stand by while women risked terrible mutilation from back-street abortionists. They could not withhold their trained services from women in desperate need. They were compelled to defy the law, concluding that the abortion law itself was criminal. They pledged to continue their fight against the law, strengthened above all by the determined campaign of Canadian women.

Madeleine l'Ecyer, one of the chairwomen of the Tribunal, presented the declaration of

Abortion tribunal

Gov't guilty of crimes against women

385 "accomplices" in Quebec — persons who had defied the law by helping women to obtain abortions.

The Tribunal also heard testimony from Dr. Robert Makaroff who had been convicted and imprisoned several years ago in B.C. for performing abortions illegally. After a vigorous defense campaign organized by the Vancouver Women's Caucus, he was granted a reduced sentence and had his medical license reinstated.

A highlight of the Tribunal was the testimony of Grace MacInnis, NDP MP for Vancouver-Kingsway, who has fought a long and heroic battle in the House of Commons for repeal of the abortion law. "I will say that those forces that prevent the legalization of abortion are guilty of causing the suffering, mutilation and death of so many women because they kept the knowledge and the information about birth control away from them for generations."

Toba Singer of the U.S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition gave special greetings to the Tribunal. She described the massive women's struggle which forced the U.S. Supreme Court to legalize abortion. Singer pledged the support of WONAAC and expressed confidence that we in Canada would achieve our goals. She ascribed international importance to the Canadian government's attacks on doctors and to the cross-Canada defense campaign.

Messages of solidarity were received from Rosemary Brown, NDP MLA in B.C.; the Montreal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions; a large number of celebrities in the Quebec Artists' Union; the New York chapter of National Organization of Women; and the Abortion Law Reform Association in England.

Coreen Douglas of the Vancouver defense committee gave the closing speech to the session: "The government is tightening up on abortions across this country, even in B.C. The reactionary anti-abortion crusaders are lining up for battle. But we are building a powerful defense campaign from coast to coast. To make this Tribunal possible, we raised over \$10,000. We travelled a total of 130,000 miles to come to Ottawa." In response to her appeal for financial contributions, participants donated over \$500.

Finally, the indictment was read and put to a vote. Everyone rose to their feet in unanimous agreement, emphasized by chants



PRO-ABORTION MARCHERS in Ottawa streets.

photo by MacInnis

and applause. The Tribunal moved outdoors, picked up placards and banners, and marched to Parliament Hill headed by Dr. Morgentaler, Dr. MacHabee and the entire Quebec contingent.

It was a militant action, defying the cold Ottawa weather with rousing chants. The Tribunal arrived at Parliament to find a small delegation of anti-abortion picketers who left shortly afterward. While the rally overflowed the Parliament steps, Brenda Dineen of the Winnipeg defense committee voiced the determination of the participants to build and strengthen the campaign in every part of the country. "This is a tremendous action," she said, "but only the beginning. We know we will eventually be successful — by building the biggest campaign necessary to wipe abortion from the Criminal Code and guarantee every woman the right to safe abortion." The rally was also addressed by Dr. Morgentaler, and speakers from the Ottawa chapter of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Humanist Association, League for Socialist Action, Unitarian Church and Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes.

Tired but very excited by their action, the demonstrators piled into buses headed for Toronto and Montreal, or waited for planes and trains to depart for more distant points.

150 demonstrate in Vancouver

Despite a driving rainstorm, about 150 people marched through downtown Vancouver Mar. 9, demanding repeal of the anti-abortion laws and calling for defense of victims of the law. The demonstration was called by the B.C. Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler.

Among the marchers were representatives of a variety of groups, including the University of British Columbia Abortion Action Committee, the Young New Democrats, Vancouver Women's Health Collective, the NDP Women's Rights Committee, the Young Socialists, the League for Socialist Action and the YWCA Women's Information Center.

The march was organized in solidarity with the Ottawa Tribunal, held the same day.

Morgentaler: doctors must aid women

The following statement is abridged from Dr. Morgentaler's testimony at the Tribunal. The first part was spoken in French; this translation was transcribed from the simultaneous translation at the Tribunal proceedings, and has not been checked against the original for possible errors.

I'd like to thank those who worked with me and supported me through this long struggle: those who were in the courtroom with me, and those across the country who sent telegrams, letters and phone calls.

I think a woman has a right to an abortion if she wants it, if she believes it is necessary for her well-being. She should have this abortion, without going against her human dignity in any way, in good medical conditions.

I continue to do abortions in my clinic in Montreal in spite of the police repression.

About three and a half years ago, on the twelfth of June 1970, I appeared for the first time before a judge in Montreal accused of having done an illegal abortion. That same day, a Greek immigrant woman in Montreal—the mother of three children—died in hospital following a badly done quack abortion.

Now I ask, who is responsible for this? I say, the responsibility lies with the law that forced this woman to go to someone who couldn't really help her.

About a year later, there was another story in the papers, about a young woman from Quebec City, 24 years old, the mother of a child, who died of hemorrhage following a quack abortion. In British Columbia, a seventeen-year-old girl died from an abortion done by a quack, because she couldn't get a

legal abortion. And there are so many other cases that aren't even reported in the papers.

I ask again, who bears the responsibility for these things? It is the federal government which is responsible. Those who are responsible for our laws are responsible for the deaths, the mutilations that women suffer under these laws.

I am not probably the best one to tell you of the anguish, the anxiety, the stress that women feel when they come for an abortion.

The most predominant fear is "Am I going to bleed to death? Am I going to have a hemorrhage?" Some are afraid of dying on the table. Some are afraid of being sterile for

the rest of their lives. And these fears are based on the experiences of thousands of women who were unable to obtain safe medical abortions. Most of the ways used by non-medical people to induce abortions were to force foreign objects into the uterus to bring on miscarriage: and women used often to suffer complications: bleeding, hemorrhage and infections.

It was because of that that I decided to show on television the modern, safe abortion technique of vacuum aspiration, which can be done on an ambulatory basis, without the woman being hospitalized, and which carries minimal risk of complications.

I have been campaigning for a change in the laws over the last six years; and it seems to me absolutely reasonable that women should not be subjected to the risks and dangers of illegal abortions. I shall continue to fight for these changes in the law. But it was obvious to me from the start that the fight for changing the laws is not enough: it is important to provide facilities to help women who are in need of help now and cannot wait for a change in the law.

And here I make an appeal to all doctors and hospitals in Canada—to bend the law if necessary, to defy the law if necessary; because I believe it is the duty of a doctor and the duty of the hospitals to provide medical help for women in need of safe medical abortions.

I think we have to pin the responsibility for what is happening here in Canada now squarely on the shoulders of the federal government, which by its inaction has condemned and is still condemning women to die and be injured in illegal, quack abortions. In its callous disregard for the rights of women it has done nothing — in spite of promises — to enact better legislation.

I promise you that I will continue to fight for the rights of women to safe abortions, and I will continue to provide the service I do as long as I can — and I hope I can for a long time.



photo by MacInnis

Dr. Henry Morgentaler

Sales brisk in Ottawa

Participants in the Abortion Tribunal expressed high interest in socialist literature. Salespersons reported selling 150 copies of *Labor Challenge* and *Young Socialist*, newspapers which have consistently supported the abortion rights struggle. Almost \$200 worth of socialist books and pamphlets were sold from literature tables.

Protest gov't inaction

B.C. tenants march for rights

by JOHN STEELE

About 200 tenants marched on the B.C. legislature in Victoria Feb. 26. Organized by the B.C. Tenants Organization, the demonstration and lobby included representatives from 12 organized tenant councils throughout the province.

The demonstrators demanded, among other things, collective bargaining rights for tenants, amendments to the Landlord and Tenant Act to force landlords to justify rent increases and evictions, and public investigation into "buying, rent raising and remortgaging practices."

In a brief to the government, the tenants' organization was critical of the Law Reform Commission (LRC) report on landlord-tenant relations on which the NDP government's new landlord and tenant act is likely to be based. The LRC report recommended that tenants be denied the right to collective bargaining with landlords. Rent-strikes would be illegal. It suggested that landlords be allowed to collect, in advance, rent for the first and last month of a tenant's residence, plus a damage deposit equal to a half-month of rent.

Labor Challenge interviewed two participants in the Feb. 26 action: Tom Hansen, a member of the Vancouver South NDP executive, and Alet MacLeod, an activist in the Vancouver Tenant Council, and a member of Burrard NDP.

Hansen and MacLeod emphasized the failure of the Barrett government to implement party policy on tenants' rights.

"The government hasn't implemented party policy, it hasn't implemented what the



B.C. TENANTS gather on steps of legislature. In background, fisherman's lobby.

Vancouver Tenant Council has been demanding since before the NDP took office, and has been demanding since," MacLeod charged. "They haven't given tenants any real protection."

The NDP promised during the last election campaign that they would give tenants' organizations collective bargaining rights when they formed the government, Hansen noted. Now they are renegeing on their promise, much in the same way that they overrode party policy in implementing Bill 11,

with its antilabor features.

"The area council presidents of the NDP rejected the LRC recommendations in total," MacLeod pointed out. Hansen's Vancouver South NDP executive had taken the same position.

At the same time, Hansen added, "the landlords have come out completely and 100 percent in favor of the LRC proposals." This gives some indication of whose interests the proposed new regulations will serve.

Both MacLeod and Hansen noted the widespread dissatisfaction within the ranks of the British Columbia NDP and the labor movement with the failure of the Barrett government to implement party policy on a range of issues, despite repeated attempts by the party membership to assert party democracy.

"The government will not listen until tenants turn out by the thousands," MacLeod said. "Tenants have got to become involved, they've got to go out into the streets," She predicted that the coming year would see increasing political activity in the tenants' movement.

MacLeod and Hansen both agreed on the necessity for the government to embark on a massive program of constructing low-rent,

tenant-controlled public housing.

At its last convention, Hansen pointed out, a resolution was passed committing the NDP government to building 50 percent of the housing required in British Columbia.

In fact though, Hansen noted, the NDP government has simply carried on where the Socreds left off. Its housing program has been "a drop in the bucket" compared with the needs of B.C. tenants.

Funds for a massive housing program were already available, Hansen said, if the government were not afraid to encroach on the profit-gouging of the big developers and landlords.

Nationalization of the developers and land speculators could go a long way to guaranteeing British Columbia working people cheap, quality, tenant-controlled housing.

NDP brass defy council, push to expel B.C. socialist

by JOHN STEELE

VANCOUVER — On March 2, by a one-vote majority, the provincial executive of the British Columbia NDP overturned a decision of provincial council — the highest governing body of the party between conventions — and denied left-wing NDP activist Wendy Stevenson membership in the party.

Stevenson's right to membership in the NDP has been a topic of controversy in the party since Nov. 26. In the mail that day she received both her membership card, and a letter from provincial secretary Hans Brown denying her membership in the NDP. Grounds for Stevenson's expulsion was according to Brown, her alleged membership in "another political party."

Stevenson and her supporters waged a province-wide campaign in defense of her right to membership in the party. The attempt to expel her, Stevenson argued, jeopardized the right to membership in the NDP of anyone in the party critical of its leadership, and government policies.

NDP provincial council, meeting in Nanaimo Feb. 2-3, voted by a large majority in defense of party democracy and recommended to the provincial executive that it affirm Stevenson's right to membership.

Rank-and-file New Democrats greeted the provincial council decision as a victory. The Vancouver Center constituency newsletter, **Center Spotlight** gave a full account of the Nanaimo meeting, and council's defense of Stevenson's rights. Her own constituency, Vancouver Little Mountain ended its report of the council meeting with the words, "Welcome Wendy."

The section of the provincial executive dealing with Stevenson's membership was held in camera — an unusual practice for the party's leading body, which normally opens its meetings to all NDP members. At least three executive members who had supported Stevenson's right to membership were absent. Premier David Barrett, and a number of cabinet members attended the meeting and placed considerable pressure on the executive to ignore provincial council's recommendation.

Those in favor of Stevenson's expulsion based their position on a 1964 provincial-council resolution denying membership in the

NDP to members of the League for Socialist Action. The 1964 resolution came under heavy fire at the February council meeting, at which it was described as undemocratic witchhunting.

New Democrats in the Lower Mainland reacted to news of the executive decision with shock and anger. On the day following the executive's action, the Vancouver NDP Area Council executive passed a resolution protesting the decision, and demanding the executive reconsider its expulsion of Stevenson.

On March 4, the Vancouver South NDP executive condemned the provincial executive's stance, and demanded Stevenson be admitted to the party. On March 6, about 40 New Democrats at a Burrard constituency meeting voted nearly unanimously for a strongly-worded resolution protesting the executive's decision.

"Be it resolved," the resolution read, "that the Burrard constituency protests the decision of the provincial executive in ignoring the recommendation of the provincial council, and pledges to utilize its resources in cooperation with other constituencies within the party to see to it that the provincial executive implements the direction given to it by the provincial council to affirm Stevenson's membership in the NDP."

In an interview with **Labor Challenge** after the Burrard meeting Stevenson described the resolution as indicative of a widespread sentiment in the ranks of the British Columbia NDP.

"The Feb. 2-3 council decision supporting my right to membership reflected the deep feeling in this party against expulsions, purges and undemocratic highhandedness of government members," Stevenson said. "The Burrard resolution tonight confirms this. The members of the provincial executive that fought to implement council's recommendation have the party membership behind them. It's necessary now for the provincial council meeting in April to support those executive members by rejecting the undemocratic and arbitrary action of the March 2 executive meeting, and once and for all affirm my right to membership in the B.C. NDP."

Women set up caucus at Alta. NDP convention

by RICHARD THOMPSON

EDMONTON — Fewer than 400 New Democrats registered for the party's annual convention here Mar. 8-10. The decline in attendance from the last convention reflected the general malaise in the Alberta NDP, and lack of enthusiasm for its leadership.

Among the more important developments at the convention was the intervention of the recently-formed women's caucus, with about 50 women attending its meetings. The caucus succeeded in winning passage of a resolution urging NDP candidates to make the party's women's policy "an integral part of their campaign platform." A resolution demanding equal representation for women on the party's governing council narrowly failed to win the two-thirds majority required for a constitutional amendment.

Heidi Fischer, a member of the caucus, introduced an emergency resolution in support of the Mar. 9 Tribunal in Ottawa in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, and for repeal of Canada's anti-abortion laws. The

motion carried by a large majority.

The women's caucus decided to call a provincial NDP women's conference prior to the upcoming cross-country meeting of NDP women in Port Elgin, Ont.

Federal NDP leader David Lewis, and Alberta NDP leader Grant Notley both centered their remarks to the convention on energy policy. Focussing on their prediction of a Canada-U.S. "continental energy deal," they diverted delegates from the real problem — private ownership of energy-resource industries. The Alberta NDP left its convention with a policy limited to criticisms of the worst features of Premier Lougheed's energy policies, without posing the alternative of rational planning of energy production through public ownership.

The failure of the convention to deal effectively with the problems confronting Alberta working people was indicated again when the convention failed to pass a single resolution against the province's antilabor legislation.



Alberta NDP convention.

photo by Dave Pohlko

Leon Trotsky: Terrorism, opportunism and Marxism

(From Labor Challenge, March 1974)

The following are excerpts from an article by Leon Trotsky against the strategy of terrorism as practiced by the Russian Social Revolutionaries (SRs) during the last decades of the Tsarist empire. It was originally published in May 1909 in the Polish *Social Democratic Review* under the title "The Collapse of Terror and Its Party (On the Azef Affair)."

The article has particular relevance because of the new rise in terrorist actions in recent years — from the operations of the Tupamaros in Uruguay, to the Sallustro kidnapping and other actions by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Argentina, to the Quebec kidnappings in October 1970, to the recent kidnapping of Patricia Hearst in California by the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Last December, a bomb ripped apart a car holding the Spanish premier Luis Carrero Blanco. The Basque nationalist group ETA (V) took credit for the action. (A statement on the assassination by Spanish Trotskyists was printed in the March 4 *Labor Challenge*.)

The resurgence of terrorism today has meant the tragic loss of lives of many militants and the disorientation of a whole section of the new generation of revolutionary-minded youth on a world scale.

Trotsky's writings on terrorism reveal that the terrorist perspective is nothing new and has in fact been tried and found wanting in the rich experience of past generations of revolutionists.

The following article was written on the occasion of the sensational exposures concerning Yevno Azef, a top leader of the terrorist Combat Organization of the SR party. Azef was exposed as an agent of the Tsarist secret police. In the course of his work as a provocateur, he was responsible for the assassination of the minister at the head of the very department that employed him as an agent. The SRs were the most recent of a number of organizations that employed the strategy of individual terror, including the Norodnaya Volya (People's Will), which Trotsky mentions in the article.

The Azef revelations were a lesson in the ineffectiveness of the strategy of terrorism. They demonstrated how government agents seek to provoke militants into terrorist activity to discredit them, victimize them, and isolate them from the masses. Recent revelations show that police tactics have changed little. One of the Watergate-related exposures was that a police provocateur was a central inspirer of the Weathermen bombings in 1969-70. It is now known that the chief of security of the Illinois Black Panther party at the time of the 1969 police raid in which Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed, was a paid FBI informer. There is suspicion that at least one figure in the 1970 FLQ kidnappings in Quebec was a police agent.

For Trotsky and the revolutionary Marxist movement, the strategy of terrorism — whether through bombings, bank robberies, assassinations, or the "new" techniques of kidnappings and hijackings — only plays into the hands of the capitalist rulers. First, terrorist acts can only eliminate individual members of the ruling class, not capitalist-class rule itself. Secondly,

terrorism is an attempt to substitute military or technical feats by a small group for the necessary social movement of the masses themselves.

Third, terrorism gives the ruling class a handle to brand the revolutionary movement as hooligan-like, mercenary and impotent, thus shifting the attention of the masses away from the capitalists' own violence, corruption and minority rule.

This article was translated by Marilyn Vogt. The entire article appeared for the first time in English in the Feb. 1 issue of *The Militant*, the American socialist newsweekly.

Trotsky: Terrorism, opportunism and Marxism

Whereas in the older bourgeois societies of Europe revolutionary **ideas** developed more or less parallel with the development of the broad revolutionary **forces**, in Russia the intelligentsia gained access to the ready-made cultural and political ideas of the West and had their thinking revolutionized before the economic development of the country had given birth to serious revolutionary classes from which they could get support.

Under these conditions, nothing remained for the intelligentsia but to multiply their revolutionary enthusiasm by the explosive force of nitroglycerin. So arose the classical terrorism of the Narodnaya Volya.

It reached its zenith in two or three years and after that was quickly reduced to nothing, having rapidly consumed in its fiery struggle all the combat reserves that the numerically weak intelligentsia could supply.

The terror of the Social Revolutionaries was by and large a product of those same historical factors: the "self-sufficient" despotism of the Russian state, on the one hand, and the "self-sufficient" Russian revolutionary intelligentsia on the other.

'Outdated by history'

But two decades did not go by without having some effect, and by the time the terrorists of the second wave appear, they do so as **epigones** (*a term used to describe the camp followers of the Stalinist 'thermidor' [reaction] – ed.*), marked with the stamp "outdated by history."

The epoch of capitalist "Sturm und Drang" (storm and stress) of the 1880s and 1890s produced and consolidated a large industrial proletariat, making serious inroads into the economic isolation of the countryside and linking it more closely with the factory and the city.

Of course, one can easily collect a dozen odd quotations from Social Revolutionary literature stating that they pose terror not instead of the mass struggle but **together with it**. But these quotations bear witness only to the struggle the ideologists of terror have had to conduct against the Marxists — the theoreticians of mass struggle.

But this does not change matters. By its very essence terrorist work demands such concentrated energy for "the great moment," such an overestimation of the significance of individual heroism,

and finally, such a "hermetic" conspiracy, that — if not logically, then psychologically — it totally excludes agitational and organizational work among the masses.

Everything that is outside the framework of terror is only the setting for the struggle; at best, an auxiliary means. In the blinding flash of exploding bombs, the contours of political parties and the dividing lines of the class struggle disappear without a trace.

Engendered by the absence of a revolutionary class, regenerated later by a lack of confidence in the revolutionary masses, terrorism can maintain itself only by exploiting the weakness and disorganization of the masses, minimizing their conquests, and exaggerating their defeats.

'Bombs instead of barricades'

"They see that it is impossible, given the nature of modern armaments, for the popular masses to use pitchforks and cudgels — those age-old weapons of the people — to destroy the Bastilles of modern times," defense attorney Zhdanov said of the terrorists during the trial of Kalyaev (an SR terrorist).

"After Jan. 9 (the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre, which marked the start of the 1905 revolution), they saw very well what was involved; and they answered the machine gun and rapid-firing rifle with the revolver and the bomb; such are the barricades of the twentieth century."

The revolvers of the individual heroes **instead** of the people's cudgels and pitchforks; bombs **instead** of barricades—that is the real formula of terrorism.

And no matter what sort of subordinate role terror is relegated to by the "synthetic" theoreticians of the party, it always occupies a special place of honor in fact. And the Combat Organization, which the official party hierarchy places **under** the Central Committee, inevitably turns out to be **above** it, **above** the party and all its work — until cruel fate places it **under** the police department.

And that is precisely why the collapse of the Combat Organization as a result of a police conspiracy inevitably means the political collapse of the party as well.

Opportunism and terrorism

The uncompromising attitude of Russian Social Democrats toward the bureaucratized terror of the revolution, as a means of struggle against the terrorist bureaucracy of Tsarism, has met with bewilderment and condemnation not only among Russian liberals, but among European socialists. How many times the SRs quoted the *Vorwärts* of Kurt Eisner's time, of *l'Humanité*, or *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung* (the organs of the German Social Democratic Party, the United Socialist Party of France, and the Austrian Social Democratic Party) against us.

Now it is hardly necessary to prove our political, living, and utterly concrete correctness: political developments afforded us a revenge too convincing in its cruelty.

But it is interesting to note something else. It seems almost touching that precisely those Western comrades who have the least in common with the bloodthirsty devourers of ministers and monarchs in their own native lands are the ones who believe that, nevertheless, in Russia a canister filled with dynamite is the best political argument.

In fact, the connection between socialist opportunism and the revolutionary adventurism of terror is rooted much more deeply than this. The first, like the second, tries to present a bill to history before it is due. Striving to artificially hasten delivery, both bring about miscarriages — Millerandism* or, of all things, Azefism. (**Millerandism refers to a policy of striving for coalition governments between working-class parties and parties of the capitalist class. Alexandre Millerand was a French socialist who, in 1899, became the first in social democratic history to enter the cabinet of a capitalist government. He was subsequently expelled from the French Socialist Party and became president of the French Republic from 1920 to 1924 –The Militant note).*

And the tactics of both terror and parliamentary opportunism shift the center of gravity from the masses to the parliamentary representatives, upon whose adroitness, heroism, energy, or tact all success depends.

In both cases, heavy screens are needed, which separate the leaders from the masses. At one extreme is the Combat Organization, shrouded in mysticism; at the other are the secret deals of parliamentarians with the aim of doing the slow-witted party masses a favor in spite of themselves.

The political psychological affinity between opportunism and terrorism, however, goes still further. Those who go out hunting for a ministerial portfolio (with the purest of intentions) or, more modestly, for the favor or sympathy of a "progressive" minister, as well as those who, clasping an infernal machine beneath a cloak, go hunting the minister himself must equally **overestimate** the minister—his personality and his post.

For them the system itself disappears or recedes into the background. There remains only the individual invested with power.

One, in order to dispose a minister toward his point of view, votes for the minister's police budget; the other, hiding from the police, puts a Browning to the minister's temple. The technique is different, but both have as their goal to directly influence the minister, bypassing the masses.

And it goes further. If the socialist deputies go to the castle to hear the king's speech, which of course will not make them any smarter, then it would be too cheap a criticism to say that by so doing they are merely violating our democratic etiquette. What is involved here is not a **symbol**, but a **symptom**. Is there something prompting them to favor monarchist etiquette over revolutionary etiquette?

What is going on is clear: they hope by their appearance to "give encouragement" to the well-disposed but timid monarch; or on the contrary, they want to give his successor a warning to the

effect that unless he follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, he will have to abandon once and for all any ambitious hope of seeing real, live socialists in his home once every five years.

Because the Russian socialists are deprived of these subtle means for exerting "moral" influence, they have to conclude that their only recourse is the cobblestones of physical terror. But in both cases what is involved is the "consciousness" of the monarch, not the consciousness of the proletariat.

Pedagogy is familiar with the stick of punishment as well as the carrot of reward. And if one is to raise socialist policy to the refined art of training monarchs, then such varied activities as courtly bows and the throwing of bombs end up as components of one and the same system.

Whatever mistakes our party has made, it has always, to its credit, remained equally removed from both forms of utopianism: the opportunist and the adventurist.

In the underground and in the Duma (*the pre-revolution[Tsarist] Russian parliament —ed.*) , the Russian Social Democrats perform one and the same task: to educate and unite the workers. It may do this better or worse from instance to instance. But one thing is beyond doubt: there may be mistakes along this road, but it can never end in bankruptcy.

500 attend B.C. conference on women

by RACHEL WOODHOUSE

VANCOUVER — Over 500 people, almost all women, gathered at Simon Fraser University on March 16 for a conference on women and education. The event was sponsored by the Task Force on Women, recently established by the B.C. Teachers Federation to document and analyze discriminatory practices within the school system, raise the consciousness of teachers and students about sexism, and propose changes both to the federation and the NDP government.

The atmosphere of the conference clearly showed that the radical impact of the women's movement has been felt among teachers. The large majority of those attending were either teachers or high-school students, and response to the speakers, workshops, and the feminist theatre presentation was highly enthusiastic.

Grace MacInnis, NDP MP (Vancouver-

Kingsway), was the opening and keynote speaker. She compared the effects of the educational system on the minds of women to the ancient Chinese practice of footbinding — "Now we have headbinding," she said.

She illustrated her point by quoting from a counselling pamphlet currently in use in Ontario schools. The pamphlet urges student women interested in chemistry to turn to home economics rather than petroleum research, and those interested in health care to choose nursing rather than medicine — because the former are "easier."

MacInnis emphasized that only major social changes, such as the institution of widely-available child care, and ready availability of birth control and abortion would enable women to take advantage of make use of what training they did receive when they enter the work force.

MacInnis's address was followed by workshops on a wide range of topics, including Women and Literature, How to Handle Male Put-Downs, Emotional Self-Defense, Freud, Sports, Counselling, and Politics. Dr. Meredith Kimball of UBC's Department of Psychology spoke to the afternoon session on sex-role stereotyping and socialization of children.

The large attendance at the Women and Politics workshop, led by NDP MLA Rosemary Brown showed the wide recognition among women teachers that winning the goal of women's liberation requires political action.

Clearly, teachers in B.C., as in Ontario, are opening up to radical ideas. That this conference drew so large an attendance, and that so many were new to — but most enthusiastic about — the feminist ideas and analysis presented, is politically significant in itself.

Sometimes in the middle of a debate, an incident comes up that tends to become an issue, and I'd like to clear one of those out of the way right now.

That's the matter of the Addison-Mack expulsions, this very suspicious incident that was referred to by Conrad Dowson, and which is referred to in the LSA/LSO INTERNAL provocation to the NDP leadership in order, I presume, to get ourselves expelled.

LSA/LSO INTERNAL

I N F O R M A T I O N B U L L E T I N

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The material in this bulletin is published
by the Political Committee for the information
of members of the League for Socialist Action/
Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian Section
of the Fourth International.

- 45¢ -

We included our paper as a routine matter in the letter. We always do that. We put in a copy of the paper when we write for an exchange. By the way, Stephen Lewis has a subscription and so do a number of members of the provincial executive of the party.

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COMMENTS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE NDP AND NDP GOVERNMENTS
by Ross Dowson

(The following comments on the character of the New Democratic Party, and of NDP governments, form part of Ross Dowson's summary comments in the plenum discussion of the NDP, popular frontism, and the positions of the Labor Party Tendency. The comments have not been edited by the speaker.)

...I'm very uneasy that comrades suddenly have it revealed to them that the NDP is to be called a social democratic party. We talked about that in the 1951 document, "The CCF, Our Tasks and Perspectives." We talked about what the CCF was. It was no longer permissible, we said, for comrades to attempt to estimate the CCF and let ourselves and the party -- we called ourselves the Revolutionary Workers Party at the time -- be guided by ready-made formulae, such as "social-democratic," "reformist," "political support of the bourgeoisie," "third party of the bourgeoisie." We didn't deny the merit of this.

Then we went on to say that there was a lengthy passage by Trotsky to our French comrades as to whether these definitions were correct, when applied to the French Socialist Party in 1934. Trotsky answered, both yes and no. Pretty wishy-washy; he didn't stand up and be counted! He said, "Rather no than yes. The impossibility of applying henceforth the simple customary definition is, of itself, the unmistakable expression of the fact that we have here to do with a centrist party."

He talked about this party no longer being what we thought it was. It is a centrist party. "Which as a consequence of the rapid evolution of the country, still retains its two poles as sharpest contradictions. One would have to be a hopeless scholar in order to be prevented by the label, 'Second International' -- that's the label Brett Smiley threw on the NDP, you see -- from seeing what is actually taking place. Only a dialectical definition of the Socialist Party, above all, a concrete appraisal of its internal dynamics, can give the Bolshevich-Leninists the possibility of drawing up a correct perspective" -- Trotsky used the word perspective -- "and of adopting an active, and not waiting policy." An active policy!

Well, comrades, our policy is an active policy with relation to the NDP...

I don't know what all this is about, these comrades here who are talking about it as some revelation that I now admit that the NDP is a social democratic party. We never said it was other than a social democratic party. But we said that it was not too useful. Maybe yes, maybe no, possibly less no, rather than more yes!

It's one thing to define the NDP formally in broad categories. It's another thing to know how to take an approach to it, to know

the perspective that your movement has for it....

I hope you document what you said about the B.C. government being a bourgeois government. I hope you document this. As we start to discuss that, we will come to grips with what the implications of that are. I don't know why we would support the NDP if it's a bourgeois government. Why we would identify ourselves with it in the next election. You've got this transition: we support the party, the party as a whole -- but we don't support the leadership, and we don't support the program. But when it gets elected, we suddenly don't support it because it's a bourgeois government! I don't think we're going to support a bourgeois government. I'm not! If the League took that position, comrades, I would break. If we would support a bourgeois government.

I don't think it's useful, comrades, to call an NDP government a bourgeois government. It's useless to call it that. It doesn't tell us anything about where the class struggle is, where the radicalization is unfolding, where the possibilities are to build this movement....

I say that the formulation that the NDP in B.C., or anywhere it is a government, that it is a bourgeois government, is not a useful formulation, Comrade Young. Is the NDP a social democratic party, or is it not? It is, and it is not. That's my answer, Comrade Riddell. It's a labor party! ...

WHAT IT MEANS TO SAY AN NDP GOVERNMENT IS BOURGEOIS

by Art Young

(The following is an edited and expanded version of the remarks by Comrade Art Young in the discussion of our policy on the NDP at the January 1974 plenum of the Central Committee.)

What differences exist in this discussion? Well, I have not yet been able to read the Labor Party Tendency document. I intend to study it carefully. I listened to the report by Comrade Ross, however, and I heard three points which seemed to me to indicate differences -- I'm not yet sure whether they are great or small. These points concerned the character of governments like the NDP government in British Columbia. An important question.

Comrade Ross said that it was not tactically useful to call the Barrett government in B.C. a bourgeois government. He preferred the term "labor government." He said that this government was "beholden to labor," to a workers party. He also said that it was not acting like a bourgeois government, like a Liberal or a Tory government.

Now confusion on these points can lead to very, very serious differences in our practical work. For our position on the class character of a government determines our fundamental political attitude to the government: whether it is one of opposition or support. This question of the class character of the government is worth exploring.

Comrade Ross did not say the NDP government is not a bourgeois government. He said it was tactically not useful to call it such. I don't know how to interpret that. But I know how Comrade John D. interpreted it. Speaking here in support of the LPT document, Comrade John said that the NDP government is not a bourgeois government. We can see how the ambiguous formulation of Comrade Ross can give rise to misunderstanding and serious error.

What is the NDP government in British Columbia, if it is not a bourgeois government? Comrade Ross argues for the description: "a labor government." Now what does this mean? Does it mean that the Barrett regime is a bourgeois government of a particular type, where a labor party is in office? That is certainly the situation in British Columbia today. But Comrade Ross rejects the description of the NDP regime as a bourgeois government of any kind, and counterposes to this concept, the idea that it is a "labor government." This implies that the class character of the government is not bourgeois; that it is in some sense a working class government. Such a view is dead wrong.

Is it possible for petty-bourgeois leaderships -- and that is the character of the NDP leadership -- to establish a government which is not bourgeois in its class character? As a rule they cannot do this. Marxism knows an exception, and it is defined very precisely in the Transitional Program -- that of a workers and farmers government. (Comrade Ross's use of the term "labor government" even suggests such a concept.) The Transitional Program defines such a formation as "a government independent of the bourgeoisie."

A workers and farmers government can be established, in exceptional circumstances, where the bourgeois state has been decisively weakened, but not yet destroyed. Capitalist property relations have not yet been overturned. But the government stands outside the control of the bourgeoisie, and is capable of far-reaching anti-capitalist measures, reflecting the weakness of the bourgeoisie and the power of the revolution. Yet in a relatively short period of time, either the revolution or the counter-revolution will triumph. Either the revolution will move forward to the expropriation of capital, or else capital will gather its forces, strengthen itself, and overthrow the government.

This situation, in which the class character of the government is in contradiction with the class character of the state, is a very unstable and temporary one.

Such a situation arose in Cuba in 1959, about six months after Batista was ousted from power, when the coalition government was thrown out. The Castro team constituted a new, revolutionary government. The old bourgeois army had been destroyed, and the government was defended by the guns of the rebel army, and of workers' and peasants' militias, yet property relations still remained capitalist, and the old bourgeois state, greatly weakened, had not yet been destroyed. The government's class character was different from the class character of the state; it was a workers and farmers government.

This contradictory situation was a short transition leading to the overthrow of capitalist property relations, and the establishment in 1960 of a workers state.

In Algeria, following the winning of independence, a workers and farmers government was also established. It proved unable to move towards the establishment of a workers state, and was overthrown by a right-wing coup.

What does all this have to do with the NDP government in British Columbia? Is the government there in contradiction with the bourgeois nature of the state? Is it independent of the control of the bourgeoisie? I think no one holds that view. It is not a workers and farmers government; its class character is necessarily bourgeois.

Let us take it the other way. Why is it correct to say that

it is a bourgeois government. Well, it is a government which administers and defends the state of the bourgeoisie. It is a government which is devoted to the maintenance of capitalism. That's its program. It is a government based on capitalist property relations. The state on which it rests is bourgeois. Comrade Ross said that he agrees that the state is bourgeois. The Barrett government rests on the police, the state bureaucracy, the courts, the army -- all of them bourgeois. And the army is the ultimate tool of power, as we saw in Quebec in 1970 with the War Measures Act.

What class rules in British Columbia? What class controls the government? To what class is it responsible? Is the Barrett government " beholden " to the labor movement? The experiences of Bill 11, and of the struggle for women's rights, have convinced thousands of B.C. NDPers that the Barrett government refuses to acknowledge any obligation to the labor movement which thrust it into office. It accepts the framework of the bourgeois state and of defense of that state. It is devoted to the maintenance of bourgeois property relations. Thus it is ultimately responsible, as a government, to the capitalist class.

It is true that the Barrett regime is a bourgeois government with a particular feature, which it is vital for us to understand. A Liberal or Tory government is based on parties which the bourgeoisie has built, shaped, and which it controls directly, without intermediaries. An NDP government poses a somewhat more complex task for the bourgeoisie, and therefore normally does not enjoy their confidence to an equal extent. For the NDP is a party based on the labor movement, and its leaders are tied to the bureaucratic layer which heads the labor movement. For that reason it is much more susceptible to mass pressure.

We say that the NDP is a labor party. Its social base is the labor movement. But its program and leadership are bourgeois and petty bourgeois. Its election to government often reflects the rise of the working class movement, and gives rise to expectations by workers that it will act on their behalf. But the leadership which takes office does so with a pro-capitalist program. It takes office to administer a bourgeois state, not to dismantle it. It takes office with the agreement of the bourgeoisie, which has made a conscious decision to allow the NDP to form the government.

Now when you have an NDP government like that in B.C., the situation expresses very graphically the contradictions inherent in the NDP, the contradiction between the labor base of the party and its bourgeois program. The interests of the working class base of the party are in fundamental contradiction to the interests of the bourgeoisie in whose interests the NDP government is ruling. The workers interests are in fundamental contradiction with the pro-capitalist program of the government. This presents us with tremendous possibilities to intervene. We pose the question, in whose interests is the government ruling: those of the working class, or those of the bourgeoisie?

We oppose bourgeois governments -- even when the NDP is in office. An NDP government is different in its class character from the NDP as a mass labor party. An NDP government is not working class in composition; it is not part of the labor movement. Its class character is not in contradiction but in harmony with that of the bourgeois state. The class character of an NDP government is in contradiction with that of the social base of the New Democratic Party, with its character as a labor party.

We support progressive measures taken by an NDP government -- indeed we support genuinely progressive measures taken by a Liberal or Tory government too. If Trudeau abolished the abortion laws, we would support that action. But we do not support the bourgeois government which carries out such actions.

Our goal is to expose the NDP government in the eyes of the masses, and to mobilize the NDP ranks, and the working class in general, against the government. Now to do this effectively demands a correct appreciation of the particular character of the NDP government. It means calling on the NDP leaders, who are in government, to take action of behalf of the working class. It means presenting our program in the framework of what this government should do -- without suggesting any political confidence in the government, or any confidence that it will actually implement that program. It means taking up the parts of the NDP program which are correct, and demanding that the government implement them. In general, it means pointing out the contradiction between the base of the party, and the party leadership which rules in the interests of the enemy class. This approach is a means of struggle against the government, not of support.

We do not cease our critical support of the NDP, as a party, when it takes office. We also continue to defend the NDP against the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

And even in the case of an NDP government, we will defend it against attacks from the right. To the degree that an NDP government bends in response to pressure from the working class, there may be conflicts between the government and the decisive layers of the bourgeoisie. The ruling class can come to the conclusion that a new government is needed. It can try to unseat the NDP government, in order to install a bourgeois government which it considers better able to defend its interests. This is what happened to the Allende regime. It was a bourgeois government, but the bourgeoisie decided to replace it with a military dictatorship. We were for defense of the Allende government against the coup.

But this does not mean that we have any political confidence in such a government, or that we give it political support. We can defend it against attack from the right. We do so in order to create the conditions where the working class will be able to replace it, and install a workers government. That's the traditional Leninist strategy. It expresses our basic goal with respect to a government like that of the NDP, Allende, or Kerensky. Our basic policy is opposition; our basic goal is to replace it.

correction

The cover of LSA/LSO Internal Information Bulletin Vol. 2, No. 4 (February 1974) is in error in stating that the report on Class Collaboration and Independent Working Class Political Action: Some Fundamental Aspects of our Policy Towards the NDP presented to the plenum by Gary Porter was adopted by the plenum. The motions adopted by the plenum are contained in the last paragraph of the report.



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Waffle's 'independence fight' -What's in it for workers?

(CANADA) LTD. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEPENDENCY, edited by Robert M. Laxer. McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto. \$3.95.

by GEORGE ADDISON

Working people in Canada are feeling the pinch. There are enormous increases in prices, particularly for food, shelter and petroleum products. While unemployment figures are not quite as high as last year, there were still 635,000 Canadians without jobs in February of this year, according to Statistics Canada. Paycheques are shrinking relative to the cost of living.

The problems are easy to see. Yet understanding the causes and offering solutions to these problems have brought forward a wide variety of proposals for action among the tendencies on the Canadian left. Underlying this debate on what strategy is needed to solve workers' problems lie different conceptions of the nature of Canada.

The viewpoint of the Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada is most clearly expressed in a series of essays collected in (Canada) Ltd., and based on a lecture series sponsored by the Waffle last year in Toronto.

Canada: a dependency?

The Waffle sees the problems facing Canadian working people rooted in the "domination" of U.S. capitalism over Canada. They see Canada, in editor Robert Laxer's words, as "a dependent capitalist state in the American empire," which is "moving towards colonial status." Thus, they believe that the struggle for socialism will evolve through the fight for independence. As James Laxer writes: "Only an anti-imperialist struggle ... can reverse the present stagnation of Canadian industry, with its attendant costs for the Canadian people."

John Hutcheson, in his study of the Canadian state in (Canada) Ltd., says that the "demand for an independent state would itself be a demand for a state in the hands of the people."

"The capitalists in Canada," he continues, "are well aware of this danger and for this reason work assiduously to undermine the concept of Canadian sovereignty. That is why it is essential for Canadians to defend Canadian sovereignty and to assert their right to their own independent state at the same time as they struggle against the policies of the capitalist state in Canada."

It is true that measured against the im-

mense power of U.S. imperialism, Canadian big businessmen and their state are quite weak. It is also true that Canadian capitalists have historically sought a "special relationship" with U.S. capitalists, and have moved to develop a certain integration of the North American market.

However, the Waffle's assumption that the Canadian capitalist class is completely subservient to their U.S. counterparts is incorrect. They ignore the very real power of Canadian capitalists and their state. And they fail to understand the international scope of the crisis of capitalism.

Catastrophic scenario

From their one-sided assumptions, the Waffle leaders have developed a schema, a catastrophic scenario, whereby Canada is being stripped of its manufacturing industry by the all-powerful American colossus. This is the "theory," or "thesis" of "de-industrialization." Waffle leaders believe that the fight against "de-industrialization" will draw Canadian workers into action, leading them to draw socialist conclusions. As Robert Laxer puts it: "The thesis can become a tool, a rallying cry for Canadians to join the movement for independence through socialism and socialism through independence."

James Laxer claims that because of its trade difficulties, the U.S. is moving to preserve American jobs by pulling U.S.-owned industry out of "dependent" countries like Canada. He cites statistics, to back his argument that this process is already underway in Canada, with the proportion of Canadians employed in manufacturing on the decline.

There are two major errors in this schema, on top of the incorrect assumptions on which it is based: The first is the belief that U.S. international corporations are engaged in a conspiracy to transfer investment and "jobs" out of Canada into the U.S.

American corporations are not concerned about jobs for American workers. As for investments, they invest where the profits are, and their Canadian operations are on the

whole quite profitable. In fact, those who are lobbying most strenuously in the U.S. for protective legislation are not the giant "multinationals" but rather the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucrats, who falsely claim that protectionism benefits hard-hit American workers.

Secondly, the Waffle schema ignores the reaction of the Canadian ruling class to such a "de-industrialization." The Waffle believes that Canadian capitalists would not fight such a move. But during the recent energy crisis, the Canadian government moved very quickly to pass legislation to provide cheaper oil for Canadian industry, thus giving Canadian manufacturers a competitive edge on the world market. This, combined with the imposition of an export tax on oil, enraged some U.S. ruling class circles. And the Canadian government used nationalist demagoguery to defend their action before the Canadian people.

Certainly the Canadian state would take even stronger measures against any U.S. move to denude Canada of its manufacturing industry.

Even Laxer's statistics are suspect. The decline in the proportion of workers employed in manufacturing is not a purely Canadian trend — the percentage decline in the United States is almost the same. This is an international phenomenon, whereby automation and more productive techniques have cut jobs in manufacturing, while the service and public sectors have expanded greatly.

The fact that there are fewer Canadians working in manufacturing, compared to some other capitalist countries, is due more to geographical and population factors than any "de-industrialization" plot. In a capitalist country as large as Canada, with so many profitable resources and with such a small population, its economy is quite naturally going to be heavily weighted to resource extraction and service industries.

Wrong problem

Laxer's statistics point to the wrong problem. Neither the nationality of the

→ P. 2

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owners of the factories, nor the balance of workers in one or another sector of the economy, are the source of unemployment. Rather, unemployment is a requirement of capitalism; all branches of capitalism require it as a "reserve army" to hold down wages and enforce job discipline. And there will be dislocations in the economy, provoking layoffs, no matter who owns the industry.

The Waffle's error, like that of the early populist movement in this country, is to take one part of the problem (in the Waffle's case, U.S. investment; for the populists it was "eastern bankers"), and elevate that to an explanation of the whole problem, ignoring other factors. The real situation is more complex.

Recent years have seen greatly-increased competition among the imperialist powers. For example, the expanded productive capacities of Japan and West Germany have allowed them to expand markets and investment to the point where they have created difficulties for U.S. capital, which previously had overall hegemony. In this crisis, with shifting trade and investment

patterns, each national capitalist class is maneuvering for its own advantage, using every means at its disposal — from tariffs to monetary devaluations.

In the recent period, we have seen protectionist measures by the Nixon administration, a succession of monetary crises; an international energy crisis, and in all countries, a stepped-up attack on workers' living standards. In all these cases, working people are being forced to shoulder the burden of capitalism's problems. We see this trend in Canada in the spiralling inflation and cutbacks in education and social-service spending, combined with a hard line by the bosses against wage increases.

In this worldwide power struggle, Canadian capitalism's prospects are questionable. But this is not because of U.S. ownership, but because of Canada's small market, dependence on international trade and relatively high cost of production. Thus, the Canadian capitalist economy may be hit harder than some other countries. And workers will have to pay the cost.

The problem faced by socialists is how to lead workers into struggle against the effects of this accumulating crisis. The Waffle calls

for a fight for independence, in defense of Canadian sovereignty. Revolutionary Marxists have another answer.

To defend "sovereignty" means to defend those who are sovereign, no matter how much left rhetoric surrounds the campaign. The Waffle's nationalist conceptions, instead of promoting the independence of the working class, tend to subordinate the needs of workers to that of the "nation." By concentrating their fire on a foreign ruling class, the Waffle "independence campaign" tends to obscure in the minds of working people the real nature of domestic class exploitation. It confuses workers as to who the real enemy is.

Thus, the Waffle's nationalist conceptions play right into the hands of the ruling class, who are increasingly using nationalist demagoguery to delude workers into supporting wage cuts or opposition to Quebec self-determination.

Nationalist demagoguery

If Canada were a colony or a semi-colony, a case could be made to support the nationalist aspirations of an oppressed nation in struggle against their oppressor. But Canada, unlike Quebec for instance, is a full-fledged imperialist nation, with its ruling class in firm control of the state and the economy. Canadian big businessmen have enormous wealth, and holdings both in Canada and internationally. They use the Canadian state to defend their interests both against the working class at home, and against foreign competitors. Moreover, they participate in the export of capital and exploitation of the third world, and actively suppress a colonized people — the Quebecois — within their own borders.

Whatever the weaknesses of Canadian capitalism, whatever the "dependence" of the ruling class on the U.S., socialists have no interest in campaigning for "Canadian independence." Rather, revolutionary socialists seek to unite the working class around clear class demands that point the way to a real solution for working people. For example, when a corporation — either Canadian-owned or American-owned — decides to shut down a plant and wipe out jobs, socialists call for nationalization of the company and its operation under the control of the workers. To the twin scourges of inflation and unemployment, socialists call for escalator clauses pegged to the cost of living, and a shorter work week with no loss in take-home pay.

Such class demands lead in the direction of taking the power out of the hands of the ruling class, replacing the capitalist state with a workers state, and building a planned economy to rip Canada out of the capitalist world market. Socialists offer the perspective not of nationalist autarky, but of a socialist North America.



WAFFLE'S DEINDUSTRIALIZATION SCHEMA foresees Canada denuded of manufacturing industry by U.S. imperialism, calls for 'independence struggle.' Their strategy obscures real nature of domestic class exploitation, underestimates power of Canadian ruling class, and confuses workers as to their real enemy.

Nationalize B.C. mines!

by MARK MOORE

"Today he has a job. Tomorrow . . . ?" The question is posed to B.C. working people in a full-page advertisement in the daily newspapers by Placer Development Ltd., one of the province's big mining companies. Above the question, a rhetorical one so far as the mining giant is concerned, is a drawing of a miner. Placer operates Gibraltar Mines Ltd., Canada's largest copper mine.

"Bill 31 is supposed to give British Columbians a bigger share of our mineral resources . . ." reads another full-page ad, this one placed by the Mining Association of British Columbia. "It will wipe out jobs, payrolls . . . even whole communities."

The mining interests are attempting to whip up an hysterical scare campaign against the provincial NDP government's new mineral Royalties Act. "Write your MLA and voice your concern," they say. "Before the mines start closing."

Bill 31 would impose an "excess profit tax" on the mining companies, in addition to a 5 percent royalty levy on mineral production. David Barrett's government will set a designated value for minerals, based on five-year average of the gross price paid to producers. If the price in one year rises more than 20 percent above this level, the government gets half the "excess."

The government move follows its "Robin Hood budget," which proposed "taking a little bit from the rich and giving it to the poor." The Throne Speech Feb. 3 promised "to take further legislative steps to make the benefits of this (resource) ownership more directly available to the people of this province than ever before."

Bill 31 is similar, in many respects, to the new "excess profits tax" announced by Manitoba's NDP government March 21. There too, there have been howls of protest from the mining companies. Any sharp increase in taxes, says Donald Munn, Manitoba president of International Nickel Co. of Canada Ltd., (Inco), would discourage exploration and development.

In fact, the mining companies have been making windfall profits. According to a *Globe and Mail* Report on Business survey, base-metals profits in the fourth quarter of 1973



MINING GIANTS threaten to create unemployment, hold back development if NDP governments implement 'excess profits tax.' Above, hard-rock miner.

were up 358.5 percent from the same period in 1972, industrial mines profits were up 160.5 percent in the same quarter.

The big mining companies have been one of the biggest beneficiaries of the corporate-tax ripoff. Inco, for example, paid no income tax at all in 1971, despite earnings of \$210 million, of which 94.2 million was considered profit. In 1951-52 corporate income tax produced 28 percent of federal-government income. By 1972-73 it had declined to 12 percent.

The tax ripoff on the federal level has been paralleled with similar concessions to the monopoly profiteers by the provinces.

Labor should organize to assure that the NDP governments don't submit to the mining tycoon's blackmail. Their concern for jobs is a new one — phony through and through; they've never been reluctant in the past to lay off workers whenever it suited their purposes. They prefer to work miners long overtime hours rather than make more jobs.

Their threats to cut back in exploration and development is also something of a farce. The mining corporations — like the petroleum

monopolies — develop resources at their own speed, with profit their only concern. They will hold development in abeyance until the price is right, regardless of the modest taxation assessed by Barrett and Schreyer. Their last concern is the ecology, or the rights of native people.

If the mining companies continue to plead poverty, and attempt to carry through on their threats, then they should open their books — not in confidence to the top echelons of the civil service as Manitoba Resources minister Sidney Green would have them do — but to the entire trade union movement.

The "excess profits taxes" implemented by the B.C. and Manitoba NDP governments to nothing to fundamentally challenge the power of the corporations. All profit is "excessive," every cent is sweated off the backs of mining workers. The rank-and-file of the NDP and the labor movement should fight for a program of nationalizing the resource blackmailers, for planned resource development with full consideration of ecological consequences, respect for native rights, and under the control of the working people.

Gov't restricting abortion facilities

by BETH ROBERTSON

"Appalling" was the term used by Laura Sabia to describe the recent statement by Justice minister Otto Lang that legal abortions are too easy to get. Sabia was speaking to the annual meeting of the National Action Committee of the Status of Women (NAC) in Toronto April 7.

Four members of the government's Advisory Council on the Status of Women attended the NAC meeting. Sabia challenged them: "The MPs are dragging their feet when it comes to taking abortion out of the Criminal Code. What are you — as an advisory council — going to do?"

June Menzies, vice-chairman of the council replied that the council had voted 17-6 in favor of repealing the abortion law. But, she added, the vote was merely indicative. "I don't think you can expect positive action from the advisory council."

The Justice minister told the press that he has asked hospitals to clamp down on abortions, expressing concern that some hospital committees "are operating in a fashion that virtually is abortion on demand."

Ontario Health minister Frank Miller termed Lang's request "passing the buck" to the provinces. Betté Stephenson, president-elect of the Canadian Medical Association, observed that the government was obviously "squirming" on the question, under increasing pressure from abortion rights advocates and their opponents.

Undaunted, Lang declared that his moves were having the desired effect. He said that some hospital committees have begun obeying the spirit of the law, which is, in his opinion, "that abortion, except in very limited circumstances, ought to remain a crime."

If all provinces followed Lang's example, virtually no women would have access to abortion. As minister of Justice, Lang is the attorney-general for the two northern territories. He boasts that he has made sure that social and economic factors are not grounds for abortions there.

NDP MP Stuart Leggatt told the March 9 Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler that in fact, not one hospital abortion committee has been established in the territories. Without these committees, no legal abortions can be performed for any reason.

Lang's statements have obviously emboldened other anti-abortion forces across the country. The B.C. College of Physicians and Surgeons denied Dr. Robert Makaroff, who served a prison term for performing abortions four years ago, reinstatement of his permanent license to practice medicine. He currently holds a temporary license which denies him full rights within the college. His request for a permanent license was turned down because "to the college his appeal seemed to be an attempt to justify his previous action."

In Saskatchewan, reactionary forces are

moving to further restrict the limited number of abortions being done in that province. Regina has imposed a \$150 fee above medicare for all abortions, and the Saskatoon City Hospital has announced that no abortions would be performed past the twelfth week of pregnancy.

The government claims that it plans no further legislation on abortion. However, Lang has also said that if the court of appeals upholds the acquittal of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, he will rewrite the law to eliminate the provision that allowed Morgentaler's acquittal.

As anti-abortion forces step up their attacks, the campaign to defend Dr. Morgentaler is playing an important role in determining the outcome of the struggle for freedom of abortion.

Following the highly-successful Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler in Ottawa March 9, defense committees are making plans to expand their campaign and raise money to continue the defense work. The Toronto Committee to Defend Dr. Morgentaler has announced a publicity drive and benefit-rally May 24.



photo by MacInnis

WOMEN ANSWER GOV'T ATTACK on Dr. Morgentaler and right to abortion, with demonstration in Ottawa March 9.

Review: Women, Resistance and Revolution

Women's liberation and socialist revolution



EVELYN REED is a Marxist anthropologist and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.



NEW YORK, AUG. 26, 1970. The rise of the new feminist movement renewed interest in the relationship between feminism and socialism.

Marxism and feminism

The following books provide a revolutionary socialist analysis of the origins and nature of sexual oppression and a program to end it.

FEMINISM AND THE MARXIST MOVEMENT by Mary-Alice Waters. 32 pp. \$70.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE by Frederick Engels with introduction by Evelyn Reed. 192 pp. \$2.50.

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION by Evelyn Reed. 96 pp. \$1.75.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM edited by Linda Jenness. 160 pp. \$2.25.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky. 320 pp. \$3.45.

The privileged bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union is an obstacle to winning the liberation of women and the blossoming of socialism. **The Revolution Betrayed** explains how the bureaucracy came into being, how it betrayed the interests of women and all the oppressed, and outlines a program to fight to restore workers democracy.

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Women's liberation and socialist revolution

Review: *Women, Resistance and Revolution*

(From Labor Challenge, April 1974)

WOMEN. RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION by Sheila Rowbotham. Pantheon Books, 1973. 288 pp. Cloth, \$7.95.

reviewed by EVELYN REED (*companion of George Novack, lecturer on anthropology and women's rights --ed.*)

British feminist Sheila Rowbotham investigates a question of crucial importance to the women's liberation movement today — the interconnection between feminism and revolution.

The first part of her study traces the history of women's resistance to their subjugated position in society from the seventeenth century to the socialist revolutions of the twentieth century in Russia, China, and Cuba. The second portion evaluates the effects of revolution and reaction upon the feminist movement.

As a declared Marxist-feminist; Rowbotham is convinced that women cannot win liberation as a sex short of a revolution that will restructure society. As she puts it, "Many women in women's liberation are not revolutionaries. But the demands they make for their own improvement require such a fundamental change in society that they are completely inconceivable without revolution."

Rowbotham acknowledges the pioneering work of the founders of Marxism in connection with the feminist cause. She writes, "Marx and Engels left an important theoretical commitment to the liberation of women's potential as a human being and the connection of this to communism. Between them they added greatly to an understanding of the nature of women's oppression in the nineteenth century, both in the anthropological and in the economic sense."

She then draws back from her pull in the Marxist direction. Despite the depth and scope of their knowledge and sensitivity to women's problems, Marx and Engels "were still a couple of bourgeois men in the nineteenth century," she writes. "Socialist" men, like the others, do not understand the problems of women and many "were not able to cast off a deep contempt for women."

Rowbotham is dubious and ambiguous about the necessity of linking the women's movement with the class struggle, which involves both sexes. She contends that feminism and Marxism are antagonistic, and writes, "I carry their contradictions within me."

Marxism and feminism

In fact, the contradictions are not in the relations between feminism and Marxism — which are fully compatible. They are lodged in Rowbotham's confusions on the relations between sex oppression and class exploitation.

She believes that the sex-role problems of women are so special they cannot be understood or solved through the scientific method created by the male Marxists. It may be useful in liberating men but not women. She therefore concludes that women must themselves be the sole agent of their liberation. In essence she is torn between non-Marxist radical feminism and Marxist revolutionary feminism.

Marxists do not deny that in their struggle for liberation women have problems as a sex not shared by men. Women have been degraded to home and family servitude and deprived of their sexual freedom along with their economic and social independence. They are dominated by men and subjected to patriarchal brainwashing, which seeks to convince them that women are "naturally" inferior because of their procreative functions.

Rowbotham deals with these injustices in considerable detail, adding her own illustrations and insights to the data already accumulated on this subject. Her narrative of male oppression and the sexual shackles clamped on women through all stages of capitalist society furnishes the most interesting and informative sections of her book. Women have borne their own crushing burdens over and above the general oppression that capitalism imposes on both sexes in the working class as a whole. All this confirms the Marxist view of the status of women as the "doubly oppressed" sex.

But such descriptive data is insufficient to answer the question that is the main theme of Rowbotham's book: how can women win their liberation?

Both sexes

The socialist revolution involves the participation of both sexes; the exploited working men and the doubly oppressed women, as was demonstrated in Russia, China, and Cuba. If the Marxist road to revolution is inadequate or to be abandoned, as Rowbotham suggests, what alternative theory, program, and prospects does she offer in its stead? She is silent on this all-important point.

Contrary to her opinion, Marxists have taken into account both the special problems of women as a sex and the tasks of the general class struggle within which these are situated: These two sides of the social struggle are interconnected, even though they develop in a highly uneven way.

The defense and promotion of the interests of one sector of the oppressed cannot be entrusted to others, although they can and do assist one another. This means that women, like the oppressed nationalities, must take the leadership of their own movement, press for their own demands, and develop their own organizations both before and after the revolution. Rowbotham agrees with this in principle.

However, she does not agree with the no less important proposition that the women's struggle and the class struggle are interlocking. This detaches the women's movement from the arena of anti-capitalist struggle and puts it in a nebulous region of its own where

women will somehow effect their own liberation through ways and means left unexplained.

She buttresses her ambiguity by reminding us that male oppression "predates capitalism." By projecting women's subordination into a dim, undefined past, she lends credence to a favorite theme of academic anthropologists and biologists that women have been "eternally dominated" by men. The truth is, the domination of women has a definite, limited, historical framework. It emerged with patriarchal class society, which began about five thousand years ago when matriarchal primitive collectivism was overturned. Through the class institutions of the family, private property, and the state, the toilers became the exploited and oppressed class and women the doubly oppressed sex. These twin conditions have persisted through all stages of class society from chattel slavery through feudalism to capitalism.

But a few thousand years of class rule is not an "eternity" in the million-year history of humankind. Capitalist domination will be even shorter; barely four hundred years old, its ending has already begun. About a third of the world today is post-capitalist, the necessary precondition for socialism.

The Marxists pointed out that the productivity of the wage workers under capitalism created the socioeconomic preconditions that would bring about the revolutionary abolition of capitalist society and its injustices. They further explained that it is precisely the workers who are the prime agents of the liberating socialist revolution. Since the proletariat as a class is composed of both sexes, the revolution cannot succeed without the participation of women as well as men.

Rowbotham's own narrative of women and revolution through the few hundred years of capitalism bears out this Marxist prognosis. A certain level of the development of capitalism and the class struggle was required before any feminist movement could come into being. Although, as Rowbotham writes, there were "Impudent Lasses" in seventeenth century England, "A feminist movement at this stage would have been inconceivable."

The possibility for such a movement on a bourgeois basis was first evidenced in the French revolution toward the end of the eighteenth century. In England this period brought forth Mary Wollstonecraft, whose book *Vindiction*, according to Rowbotham, is "often taken as the beginnings of feminism," although as yet "a bourgeois radical" feminism.

Reformists & revolutionists

After the industrial revolution and the advent of scientific socialism in the mid-nineteenth century, the feminist movement became divided between bourgeois-liberal feminism and socialist feminism. Marxism ushered in the struggle between reformists and revolutionists on which road to take toward liberation — a struggle that continues to the present day.

The petty-bourgeois and "socialist" reformists thought liberation could be achieved through gradual improvements within capitalism. Marxists insisted that, while reforms must be fought for by both the workers and women, their liberation could begin only through a thoroughgoing social revolution. Rowbotham herself notes that from 1848 on, "the conflict was explicit between the two feminisms, one seeking acceptance from the bourgeois world, the other seeking another world altogether." Why, then, in the light of her own narrative, does she, as an avowed feminist and socialist, disqualify Marxism as an adequate program and guide for revolutionary action?

Among other reasons, Rowbotham, in common with many other feminists, does not have a clear understanding of the contradictory development of the October 1917 revolution and the Soviet Union that issued from it. She thus fails to draw a sharp line of distinction between socialist revolution and bureaucratic counterrevolution.

Rowbotham points out, "The Russian revolutionary movement at the end of the nineteenth century was passionately committed to women's emancipation." She shows what brilliant vistas were opened for women after the victorious Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The old tsarist tyranny where women had no more rights than pack animals was shattered. Women received full and equal rights with men. Special laws were enacted for women and centers set up to meet the needs of pregnant women and mothers.

Wives were no longer subservient to husbands; wife-beating and paternal domination were outlawed. Distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children were dissolved. Divorce was made easy and abortions granted. In 1919 the women's special division of the Communist party was formed, the Working and Peasant Women's Department, called the "Genotdel," to watch over all the special interests connected with women. As Rowbotham sums all this up: "The world the revolution opened for women is inseparable from that which it opened for men."

What happened to set back that new world the Petrograd women themselves, as Rowbotham points out, ushered in through their February 1917 demonstration for bread? Although she had read and cites Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, she offers a superficial and even frivolous explanation of this disastrous development.

In a chapter debonairly entitled "If You Like Tobogganing," she passes from the Bolshevik revolutionary days to the subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic counterrevolution as though these were simply two turns in a ride up and down the Russian roller coaster. She sees no connection between the bitter setbacks for women with the defeats suffered by the Soviet workers under the Stalin regime. In a wishy-washy way she says that "a strong counter-tendency had emerged," and gently condemns the re-submergence of women "under the benign whiskers of Uncle Joe."

Then, in wide-eyed innocence she asks, "Where had all those honest Leninists gone?" Surely she must know that the entire generation of Bolshevik leaders who had made the

revolution were murdered by Stalin. And surely she must know that many thousands of honest Leninists were incarcerated and perished in his slave labor camps that today have become known as the "Gulag Archipelago."

A clear and comprehensive distinction must be made between revolutionary Marxism and Stalinist bureaucratism, which is as much antifeminist as it is antisocialist. Rowbotham does not do this. Therefore she does not furnish enlightenment to the many women who are seeking the revolutionary road to liberation but are turned off and turned back by the Stalinized Communist parties, which oppose the aims and aspirations of the women's liberation movement. The defects of Rowbotham's outlook are well expressed in the last paragraph of her book. She writes, "The connection between the oppression of women and the central discovery of Marxism, the class exploitation of the worker in capitalism, is still forced. It is still coming out of the heads of women like me as an idea. It is still predominantly just a notion in the world."

It is an error of subjectivism on her part to reduce a world historical movement, the transition from capitalism to socialism that began in 1917, to "a notion" in her head. Indeed, despite her confusions and contradictions, her own study indicates that both socialism and feminism are growing and interdependent realities.

(end)

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Furor over 'free speech' at U of Toronto

by RAY WARDEN

They are "thugs," "stormtroopers," and "shouting myrmidons," howled a chorus of University of Toronto faculty members. A storm of invective poured on members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) after they forcibly prevented Professor Edward Banfield from addressing a March 13 campus meeting.

Right-wing faculty were joined by the university administration in the hysterical campaign. The administration withdrew recognition of SDS as a campus club, and promised further disciplinary action. Cops were called on campus to maintain "law and order." A general assault was launched on students' rights.

The task now posed before students is building a broad-based defense to prevent victimization of SDS members, and to roll back the administration's offensive. But at the same time it is necessary to step back a bit, and learn the lessons of the "Banfield affair."

The 'Banfield affair'

Banfield, a proponent of academic racism in the guise of "urbanology," and an advisor to President Nixon in his implementation of anti-Black urban policies, was guest of the university and the right-wing faculty's American Studies Committee. SDS, which has been engaged in what it calls an "anti-racist campaign" for the past two years, took upon itself the task of denying this racist access to student ears.

Banfield's visit followed only a few days after a campus teach-in on racism in the university. Students, needless to say, were never consulted in the decision to roll out the red carpet to this racist. Entertaining Banfield on the university was an insult, and a provocation to students.

But the clamor about "freedom of speech" and "academic freedom" was completely predictable when about 50 SDSers and supporters occupied the speakers platform, and refused to allow Banfield to come to the podium. SDS's sectarian action could only provide the administration with the pretext for launching its assault on students' rights.

"Where confrontation has changed to physical intimidation," university president John Evans declared, then it's necessary to implement "appropriate mechanisms to secure freedom of expression in the face of such threats."

Meeting in emergency session March 14, the executive committee of the university's Governing Council voted to refer the Banfield incident to the disciplinary body, Caput. The authority of this administration-controlled Kangaroo court had been so completely eroded prior to the SDS action, that the university had been trying for years to replace it. The administration unilaterally withdrew recognition of SDS as a campus club, barring it access to university facilities.

Evans lays a trap

Right-wing hysteria mounted, with

Toronto's daily newspapers joining in the law-and-order clamor. Evans announced new disciplinary guidelines March 22: in future the administration would bring cops on campus "to defend freedom of speech" and guarantee "the maximum opportunity for dissent and debate." The depth of Evans' devotion to "free speech" was tested soon enough, as the administration cynically laid a trap for the dauntless SDS.

The university's Governing Council met March 29 to consider the Banfield affair. The meeting was closed, except to holders of administration-distributed tickets. SDS was joined by members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and a few individual students in picketing outside the meeting.

Despite their evident isolation from the mass of students after their disruption of the Banfield meeting, the demonstrators allowed themselves to be provoked. Campus security guards refused to allow a ticket-holding SDS leader, scheduled to address the Governing Council, into the council chambers. A scuffle broke out; a few punches were thrown. Entering by a side door, demonstrators poured into the Governing Council meeting. Governing Council promptly adjourned.

Before the demonstrators entered the meeting, the council passed the academic section of the repressive new disciplinary code, providing punishment for such "crimes" against the university as plagiarism and cheating on exams. The same machinery can later be used in enforcing the non-academic section of the code — now scheduled to be implemented next January.

"50 radicals battle police, break up U of T meeting," read next day's Toronto Star front-page headline. Evans said the actions of SDS at the Governing Council meeting were "extremely unfortunate," but only proved the necessity of strict disciplinary guidelines. Again, he said that Toronto police would be used to prevent such disruptions in future.

Evans was true to his word. Governing Council resumed its meeting next day, with 100 Metro Toronto police on guard. While a group of SDS and RMG demonstrators picketed outside, the governing body approved Evans May 22 guidelines for dealing with campus "disruptions," including the use of the cops. In doing so the council established what all year it could not: a non-academic disciplinary procedure to serve until the new code is forced through.

'Stunning setback'

The administration found it impossible to implement their proposed new Code of Behaviour last fall. The students Administrative Council, and a long list of campus organizations declared their opposition to the measures. A united-front committee was formed to fight the code. Students packed a November meeting of Governing Council, forcing a postponement of the implementation of the disciplinary code.

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Neither SDS, nor the organization that dominates its leadership, the Canadian Party of Labour, helped build the united front committee and the actions against the code.

Yet in the space of a few days after the Banfield incident the university administration summarily banned a campus group without hearing, referred disciplinary action to the long-discredited Caput, implemented the new academic disciplinary code, (and with it the structures for enforcing the proposed non-academic code) and established an interim disciplinary procedure allowing the administration to call the cops onto campus. In the name of "free speech" the university dealt students' years-long struggle against arbitrary disciplinary measures a stunning setback.

The university's suddenly discovered commitment to "free speech," the U of T Young Socialists pointed out in a letter to the student paper *The Varsity* March 20, "is sheer hypocrisy." The "rights" of Banfield and his administrative supporters have never been in jeopardy. Banfield's views have not only been put forward in his several books, "but have been acted upon by the president of the United States!" All the power of the university administration is brought to bear in defending their self-proclaimed "rights," yet they have no hesitation in calling the cops to enforce their arbitrary rule.

Meanwhile, the Young Socialists' letter argued, "The administration of U of T violates the rights of the majority on this campus daily. Two years ago they violated the right of students to have access to the stacks of the Robarts library and called cops on campus to brutally arrest 19 people participating in a peaceful sit-in. They have consistently fought tooth and nail against the right of students to exercise some control over the hiring and firing of their professors as well as the content and structure of their courses. They have recommended and acquiesced in the education (spending) cutbacks which have denied the right of many students to attend university. They have consistently trampled on the right of women students, faculty and staff to equal treatment in the university. And they are presently bent on implementing a repressive discipline code designed to further hamper students' efforts to organize against these numerous violations of our rights."

Lessons

At the same time the lessons of this setback at U of T must be drawn. Having failed to mobilize the mass of students behind its "antiracism campaign" SDS chose the suicidal route of minority disruptive action. In preventing Banfield from speaking, SDS substituted the action of a tiny minority for a strategy based on mobilizing the mass of students against the racist policies of the administration, and their invitation to Banfield. Rather than winning broad support

for the left, this minority action only further isolated radicals from the students.

By refusing to allow Banfield to speak, SDS allowed the authoritarian administration to pose as champions of democratic rights, while branding the left as opponents of "free speech." With the mass of students disarmed by this hysterical administration propaganda, the university launched its attack on student rights. The scenario of ensuing events could not have provided the administration with a bigger opening for tightening its control of the campus had Evans himself written the script.

Within the space of a few weeks the SDS's "antiracist campaign" has ruthlessly rebounded against them — and the entire student body. While the SDS demanded the university "Ban Banfield," it was SDS the administration chose to ban.

The demand "Ban Banfield" serves only to buttress the authority of the university administration, conceding it the right to decide which views are to be heard on campus. It plays right into the administration's hands. Declaring war on "extremists" of all stripes, the administration could ban both far-right and left-wing views.

All experience proves that when capitalist-controlled university administrations have this power, it is consistently used against the left. In 1968 for example, the DeGaulle government in France banned many of the organizations of the student left — using a law that was originally used to "ban" fascist groups. In fact, the right continued to operate surreptitiously; the left was ruthlessly suppressed.

Demanding the administration refuse

Banfield access to the campus runs counter to a strategy aimed at ending the administration's disciplinary power, and big-business control of the university. It is students, faculty and support staff who should have final say over what speakers are invited to present their views on campus, and who should control on-campus discipline. Only through the struggle for student-faculty-support staff control can the facilities of the university be placed at the disposal of working people, women, and oppressed nationalities like Blacks and Quebecois in their struggles against big business.

Preventing Banfield from speaking was no victory in the struggle against racism. This racist now poses as a victim of persecution.

The superexploitation of Blacks is a structural feature of capitalism; racism is only the reflection of capitalism's need for a cheap pool of labor, and a mechanism for dividing the working class. Campaigning so exclusively in opposition to racist ideas as SDS does, is only an excuse for its well-known failure to support the struggle of Blacks and Quebecois for self-determination. Its campaign against individual racists like Banfield only feeds the liberal illusion that racism is an aberrant ideology fostered by a few right-wing ideologues.

In the wake of the Banfield affair, the Young Socialists have posed the main task before students: defending the victims of disciplinary action, rolling back the administration's assault on democratic rights, while continuing the fight against the university's proposed new repressive non-academic code.

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CAMPUS POLICE, DEMONSTRATORS at U of T Governing Council meeting March 28. Administration announced after incident that city cops would be used on campus.

Racists attack African liberation meeting

A group of 8 to 10 men shouting "white power" attacked an April 7 U of T meeting supporting the liberation of Portugal's African colonies. According to press reports the right-wing goons, armed with chains and clubs, wrecked the lobby of the Medical Sciences building's auditorium. They overturned tables, hit people with chairs, smashed the glass front doors, broke a plate-glass window, sprayed people with mace and with the building's fire extinguishers. Six people were reportedly taken to hospital.

Questioned by news reporters about the incident, ultra-right Western Guard leader Don Andrews said the "White People's

Vigilantes, an ad hoc group" was responsible for the attack. Andrews did not reveal the source of his information.

University president John Evans, using the attack to justify his present assault on student rights at U of T, said it was "another example of the violation of freedom of speech on the campus." In fact, by inviting racists like Edward Banfield to U of T the university has encouraged the racist goons.

The seriousness of this attack urgently requires that student and left organizations at U of T form a united defense for future meetings.

EDITORIALS

Stop B.C. NDP's expulsion of Wendy Stevenson

The B.C. NDP provincial council meets in Vancouver April 20, several weeks after a meeting of the provincial executive voted by a one-vote majority to expel Vancouver-Little Mountain constituency member Wendy Stevenson from the party.

The portion of the March 2 executive meeting dealing with Stevenson's membership, a topic of controversy throughout the B.C. NDP for the last five months, was closed to rank-and-file NDP members, an unusual action by the executive. It is widely rumored throughout the party that government members pushed hard for the expulsion. Not only was the discussion held in secret, to this date Stevenson and her riding executive have not been officially informed of the executive decision.

The executive in effect rejected a directive from the Feb. 2-3 meeting of the provincial council — the highest body in the party between conventions — to grant Stevenson her membership. At that council meeting, following a lengthy and heated discussion, the policy directive to the executive on the Stevenson membership was adopted by a 35-4 vote.

Stevenson, an outspoken critic of the NDP govern-

ment's policy on women's rights, housing and labor legislation, and a member of the League for Socialist Action, has been campaigning for her right to membership since Nov. 26. At that time she received by mail both her membership card and a letter from former provincial secretary Hans Brown, stating her membership was invalid because of her alleged membership in "another political party." Numerous constituency associations and individual NDP members across the province rallied to her defense. In face of the protests, the executive placed the issue before the council, which voted for Stevenson's right to membership.

NDP members have reacted with shock and outrage at the highhanded and undemocratic executive decision. Protests have been sent from the Vancouver NDP Area Council executive, the Vancouver South executive, and the Vancouver Center executive. Both the Burrard constituency and Stevenson's riding, Little Mountain, voted to use their resources to help fight for Stevenson's membership. The Burrard constituency mailed its position to all B.C. NDP constituencies, with a covering letter informing them of the executive action.

The issues are clear. The back-room expulsion of Stevenson is a threat to every member of the B.C. NDP. If the action is not reversed, the door is open to further expulsions and purges. In order to silence a critical voice, half the provincial executive has chosen to defy the provincial council of the party, and the opinion of the membership reflected by it, in an arbitrary manner without any explanation. If the party executive begins defying decisions of higher bodies, it is only one further step for it to defy convention decisions. Defiance of convention decisions has been the regular practice of the NDP caucus in the B.C. legislature, since the election of an NDP government in August 1972.

The April 20 provincial council meeting has the clear responsibility to block the further erosion of democracy in the B.C. NDP. The council must take a unequivocal stand in opposition to the expulsion of Stevenson. It must reaffirm its Feb. 2-3 policy directive and demand that the executive immediately rescind the expulsion and issue Stevenson her membership. And further, in the event that the executive continues to refuse to implement the directive of the council, the provincial council must resolve to mobilize the membership of the party in support of its position at the B.C. NDP convention scheduled for the end of August.